GUPTA TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

P. K. AGRAWALA

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Gupta Temple Architecture

by
PRITHVI KUMAR AGRAWALA

Foreword by
PROFESSOR. S. K. SARASWATI
Head of the Department of Art & Architecture,
BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

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Modest beginnings of a Hindu shrine often appear an anomaly in the context of Indian architectural endeavour. By the 3rd-4rth century A. D. only, we find the temple to emerge out of its architectural obscurity. It is no doubt strange to believe that no temple existed before this date. In fact, the Gupta temples justify rudimentary beginning from the point of their readiness of plan, plainness of decoration, unassuming height and simple design of architecture, and this interprets any conjecture unlikely as regards the pre-Gupta temple activity. The present study makes no attempt at reconstructing something which does not exist or never existed. On the basis of literary and archaeological evidence whatever we have the author has sketched out in the following pages a picture of the earliest phase of temple-building activity in our country. I must express my gratitude to earlier scholars and writers on the subject, from whose invaluable works I have extensively quoted and derived, including A. Cunningham, J. Fergusson, J. Cousens, R. D. Banerji and V. S. Agrawala.

I am greatly obliged to Dr Moti Chandra, Director, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for his interest and encouragement. Moreover regarding this study, he took *spontaneous* trouble of very kindly going through the entire manuscript and made valuable improvements. It is my pleasant duty to express my thankful gratitude to Professor S. K. Saraswati, Department of Art & Architecture, Banaras Hindu University who not only recommended early publication of this work but has contributed enormously to its value by writing the Foreword.

We are grateful to the Archoeological Survey of India for permitting the reproduction of a number of photographs seen on Pls. I-III, XII-XIV, XVII-XXX. Pls. XV b and XVI a are from Goetz's article in *East & West*, Vol. X, part 3. Pls. V-VI are from the negatives by the late Prof. V. S. Agrawala and the rest by the author. I further acknowledge my indebtedness to the following for several of the text illutrations : Fergusson, *History of Indian Architecture* (2nd edn, 1910), for 15-18, 62, 66-67; *Tree and Serpent Worship*, for 73; Cunningham, *AS. Reports*, for 42-3, 46, 48-9, 56-7, 74, 76-7; *ASI.*, *Annual Reports* and *Memoirs* for 24, 45, 50, 52-4, 58-61, 63-5, 68-9; John Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, for 36; V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, for 1, 23, 25-7, 30; *Matsya Purana— a study*, for 83; C. Sivaramamurti, *Sculpture inspired by Kalidasa*, for 51; and O. P. Somapura, *Prasadamanjari* for 21-22. Rest are the sketches by the author, excepting 31, 55, 78-81 which he gratefully owes to his friends Messrs Dinesh Pratap Singh, B. D. Madhur and R. S. Dhir respectively. And, to Shri Lalta Mishra who prepared maps with the profound interest and Shri O. P. Khaneja who accorded all help in photographic work, I am very much indebted.

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FOREWORD

Of the different expressions of Indian architecture, surely the highest achievement is seen in the temple where the god is believed to reside in full state. With its majestic height and dignified proportions, varied forms and exquisite wealth of carvings, effective distribution of lights and shades and, above all, in its plastically modelled mass, the Indian temple is rightly judged to be a superb and impressive creation ranking high among the outstanding productions of world architecture. The monuments that still survive, in spite of the ravages wrought by time and man, are many and they admit of a division into a number of distinctive styles and forms taking definite shape through a progressive movement of several centuries. The movement reached its culmination during the mediaeval phase which witnessed the crystallisation of the definitive styles.

One may possibly enquire what these styles were in order to understand better the full import of mediaeval Indian temple architecture. This enquiry, it should not be ignored, is not free from complexities. The tradition recorded in Indian *silpa* texts may, however, be of certain help if one is able to extricate the salient information from the irrelevant mass that characterises these works and from the many textual corruptions that have accumulated through the centuries.

In the early phase of temple building activity Indian texts are found to classify temples according to certain rules of proportionate measurement. The *Brihat Samhita* (c. sixth century A. D.), for instance, describes twenty varieties of temples following these rules, and the same list with identical descriptions occurs also in the *Visvakarmaprakasa*, the *Matsya Purana* and the *Bhavishya Purana*. These 'twenty temples' thus seem to have been established as the norms of Indian temple architecture by the sixth century A. D. and continue to remain so even much later. The *Samaranganasutradhara* repeats the self-same list in the chapter on *Nagara-prasadas*. In two earlier chapters it describes these temples in their subtle details (*sukshma lakshanas*).

By the eleventh century then the twenty varieties of temples of the earlier texts have crystallised to form a distinct class or style of temples called 'Nagara' in the *Samarangana-sutradhara*. Along with the 'Nagara' the same text describes also another class of temples under the designation of 'Dravida', whereas a third class is referred to as 'Varata' (?). It is significant to note that from this time onward many of the texts are found to recognise three principal styles of temples usually grouped under the ternary of 'Nagara', 'Dravida' and 'Vesara'. The term 'Dravida' signifies that the names were primarily geographical. It is significant further that some of the texts refer to a kind of regional distribution of these canonical styles of temples. Though the term 'Nagara' does not occur as a territorial unit in ancient Indian geography, the available texts are agreed on the information that the 'Nagara' style of temple was prevalent in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. The Dravida country is well known and the texts rightly confine the 'Dravida' style in the south, in that part of the country lying between the river Krishna and cape Kanyakumari. In the classification of the different temple styles the 'Nagara' and the 'Dravida' have been clearly distinguished in the *silpa* texts, one as belonging to the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, i. e. Northern India, and the other as belonging to the Dravida country between the river Krishna and Kayakumari. A close and careful study of the monumental remains inevitably tends to show that the mediaeval temples respectively of Northern India and the Dravida country are sharply distinguished from each other, both as regards ground plan and elevation. The 'Nagara' and the 'Dravida' styles of the canonical texts may thus be explained respectively with reference to the temples of Northern India and the Tamil-speaking south.

The term 'Vesara,' however, is not free from vagueness. Some of the texts ascribe the 'Vesara' style to the country between the Vindhyas and the river Krishna. In this region, or more properly in the region sometime under the domination of the royal dynasty of the Chalukyas, a separate style of temple architecture may be recognised—a style known to the archaeologists as the 'Chalukyan' which, on the evidence of a text called *Aparajitaprabha* (manuscript in the Asiatic Society), may preferably be designated as 'Karnati' or 'Karnataka'. This style, however, is a hybrid one (*vesara* also means *misra* or 'mixed') borrowing elements and features both from the 'Nagara' and the 'Dravida' temples and does not become clearly distinguished before the eleventh century A. D. Having regard to the evidence of the monuments then, the three styles of the *silpa* texts ultimately resolve into two, namely the 'Nagara' and the 'Dravida'.

For an enquiry into the genesis of these two styles it is necessary to have an idea of the characteristic form and features of each for which the texts are of hardly any help to us. In the circumstances one has to depend on the evidences supplied by the extant monuments for a knowledge of the particular form and characteristic features of any one of these two temple styles. The geographical delimitation of the styles, as described in the texts, may be found to be of significant help in this regard. An examination of the surviving monuments of mediaevel temple architecture in each of these two regions, in order to search for the essentials that characterise the temples respectively in these two regions, is necessary to find out whether in the temples of these two regions there are any basic and common factors that remain constant irrespective of accretions and individual expressions due to time and space. Such basic and fundamental factors, if correctly ascertained and determined, may enable one to discover the distinctive marks of the styles concerned and it is on the basis of such marks that one has to search for their origins.

The 'Nagara' style of temple architecture, according to the *silpa* texts, was prevalent in the territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, i. e. Northern India, coterminus with Aryavarta of the ancient Dharmasastra writers. Several regions in this territory are known to have developed important temple-building activities in the mediaeval period, for instance Orissa, Central India, Western India and the old Malava region. Besides, isolated activities are recognised in the Punjab hills in the north and on the fringe of West Bengal in the east. A close examination of North Indian temples reveals two constant and distinctive features irrespective of situation and chronology—one in respect of ground plan and the other in that of elevation. With regard to the first a North Indian temple always shows a square ground plan with a number of graduated projections in the middle of each side on the exterior. Externally hence it is of a cruciform shape with a number of projecting and re-entrant angles. In elevation it has as a superstructure a tower (*sikhara*) which gradually inclines inwards in a convex curve and is capped by a flat spheroid slab indented around the edge (*amalaka, amalasaraka*). The chases formed in the exterior are carried up the body of the tower and a prominent feature of such a temple is supplied by the vigorous and unbroken linear ascent of the tower which came to be known, in some of the regions, as the *rekha sikhara*. Temples with the above characteristics are found to be widely distributed, not only throughout North India, but also over parts of the Deccan. In spite of certain individual ramifications and expressions, natural and logical in such a case, the cruciform ground plan and the curvilinear tower are common to every North Indian temple, wherever it is situated and whatever its local stamp might be. Indeed, the above two features may justly be regarded as the sure and distinctive marks of a temple style prevalent in North India, i. e. of the 'Nagara' style of the *slipa* texts.

A few of the canonical texts may be said to contain some useful information about the distinctive marks of the style. The projections on each face of the square plan, characteristic of a 'Nagara' temple, each leaves out a small portion at either end and a number of projected angles (*asras*) and vertical planes (*rathas, rathakas*) are thus formed. The *Kamikagama* and the *Mayamata* describe a 'Nāgara' temple both as *chaturasra* and as *ayatasara*, Some scholars interpret the term *ayatasra* as rectangular. It seems that *chaturasr-ayatasra* of the texts should better be explained as 'quadrangular with angles projected' (*ayatasra*, i. e. with *asras* or angles made *ayata* or projected). This meaning finds confirmation in the characteristic plan of a 'Nagara' temple which, on account of the projections on each face, may appropriately be described as a square with projecting angles. The *Kamikagama*, again, divides a 'Nagara' temple into eight constituent parts (*ashtavarga*) in its elevation. They are : *mula*, the root, i. e. the foundation terrace; *masuraka* the plinth; *jangha*, the wall; *kapota*, the cornice; they form the perpendicular section of the structure, the *kapota* separating this part from the curvilinear which again is made up of four constituent parts, namely, *sikhara*, *gala* (neck), *amalasaraka* and *kumbha* (auspicious jar) with the *sula*, the last being the distinctive finial of Saiva shrines. The same text also describes the 'Nagara' temple as having three, five, seven or nine *pratirathas* resulting from graduated *bhadras* and makes special mention of *sukanasa*. This *Kamikagama* description also fits in very closely with the elevation and plan of a North Indian temple.

The cruciform ground plan and the curvilinear tower thus constitute the fundamental and basic characteristics of a 'Nagara' temple and the simplest archetype of the style in respect of these distinctive features, may be recognised in a group of shrines of approximately the fifth-sixth century A. D. The Vishnu temple at Deogarh and the brick temple at Bhitargaon represent the most well known examples of that group; although belonging to the Gupta culture epoch, they present a significant deviation from the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines, each on account of the low and stunted *sikhara,* gradually receding upward, over the square sanctum. This constitutes a distinct departure, certainly a new direction in temple building, and in this respect these temples may justly be linked with the mediaeval temples of Northern India of which they were surely the precursors. In the Deogarh temple one recognises again a new feature, apart from the *sikhara,* in the arrangement of an ornamental sculptured panel between two pilasters on each face of the walls corresponding to the decorative door-frame in front. These sculptured panels, along with the door-frame in front, appear to set forward the walls in the middle of each face. Such an arrangement may hence be regarded as the beginning of a device that developed into a regular practice of setting forward the middle of each side of the square, a design that is seen to be a distinctive characteristic of the ground plan of a 'Nagara' temple of the later days. One such projection distinguishes the ground plan of the brick temple at Bhitargon, and gradually the number of such projections increased. The *sikharas* of these early monuments are badly damaged and it is not possible to ascertain what they looked like exactly. It is likely, however, that such early *sikharas* were of a straight-edged pyramidal shape, as is to be found in the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya which was certainly erected by the first half of the seventh century and, in spite of many later renovations, may be said to have fundamentally retained its original form. Again, in both the Deogarh and Bhitargaon temples the projections on the body of the sanctum, whether by sculptured panels or by regular buttresses, are carried up the bodies of the towers. Further, the former probably shows the use of angle-*amalakas* as is evident from an earlier illustration, indicating the existence of a fairly big-sized *amalaka* as the crowning member of the *sikhara*. These features also constitute inseparable elements of a 'Nagara' temple. In each of these early *sikhara* temples a recessed frieze usually separates the cube of the sanctum from the body of the tower, i. e. such a freize serves as the transition from the cube to the tower. This feature may also be recognised in the early temples of the 'Nagara' zone. With its origins and antecedents in the Gupta *Sikhara* temple the 'Nagara' style emerges in its typical form and characteristics by the seventh-eighth century A. D. and experiences further developments in the subsequent phases.

The 'Dravida' style of temple was prevalent in the south, evidently in the Dravida country, roughly the territory between the river Krishna and Kanyakumari. A careful study of the mediaeval temples of this region will reveal, again, certain common and constant elements and features. The outstanding characteristic of the temples of the Dravida country is the pyramidal elevation of the superstructure, which consists of indicate, that the origins lie further back. But early sanctuaries, presumably built of impermanent materials like wood or bamboo, afforded little scope for the application of the principles of architecture as an art, either in respect of form or in that of composition. The Gupta period, with its new outlook, ushered in the practice of building in permanent materials, especially in dressed stone and brick. This was, no doubt, a decisive step. At the initial stage there may be recognised a certain primitiveness and hesitancy in the handling of the new material; in course of time, with growing experience, the builders became aware of the freedom and elasticity of the new structural practice and the scope and possibilities consequent thereto. Freed from the limitations, inherent in wood or bamboo, the Indian builders are known to have conceived on a grand scale and to have handled their material, especially stone, in so skilful and efficient a manner as to evoke the admiring observation that they built like titans and finished like jewellers. The Gupta temple served as the beacon that reached dazzling brilliance in the mediaeval Indian temple.

Gupta temple architecture offers, hence, an important and instructive field of study. Poineer work was done in this regard by Sir Alexander Cunningham. Now, nearly a century after, the work has been taken up on a more comprehensive scale by Sri Prithvi Kumar Agrawala, a young and talented scholar who has inherited a great tradition from his famous father, the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala. Sri Prithvi Kumar has already shown his eminence by the publication of several monographs on different aspects of Indian art history—every one a document of genuine and painstaking research. He has now applied his mature mind and experience to the study of the Gupta temples and has brought together all relevant material, including many new and less-known ones, to bear upon his study. The term 'Gupta' he has used, and rightly so, not in its political concept but in its cultural import. All monuments belonging to the Gupta culture epoch, lying scattered over a wide stretch of territory, have been rationally examined and discussed in detail in order to find out the basic characteristics and qualities of

Gupta temple architecture. Not a scrap of information has been left out. It is a pleasure to note further that the author treats his subject, not in isolation, but is fully conscious of its links with the antecedents and its associations with and contributions to subsequent Indian architecture. This refreshing outlook has been enhanced again by a first-hand study of many of the major monuments. An attempt has been made, and with a fair success too, to trace the gradual evolution of the different component parts of the Gupta temple by comparative analytic method and sculptural wealth. One may mention also that he has tried to co-relate and interpret the vast mass of literary material in the light of the evidences supplied by the existing monuments. In brief, in the present book the author has studied Gupta temple architecture in all its bearings. The fundamental observations of Cunningham with regard to the architectural norm of the Gupta temple, as the author admits, remain largely unmodified; it has to be emphasised, however, that the present study, owing to its extensive and intensive treatment and to the wide panorama against which it is set, is surely a great advance and is likely to remain for long as a standard work on this very important subject.

S. K. Saraswati

Department of Art & Architecture,
Banaras Hindu University.
May 15, 1968

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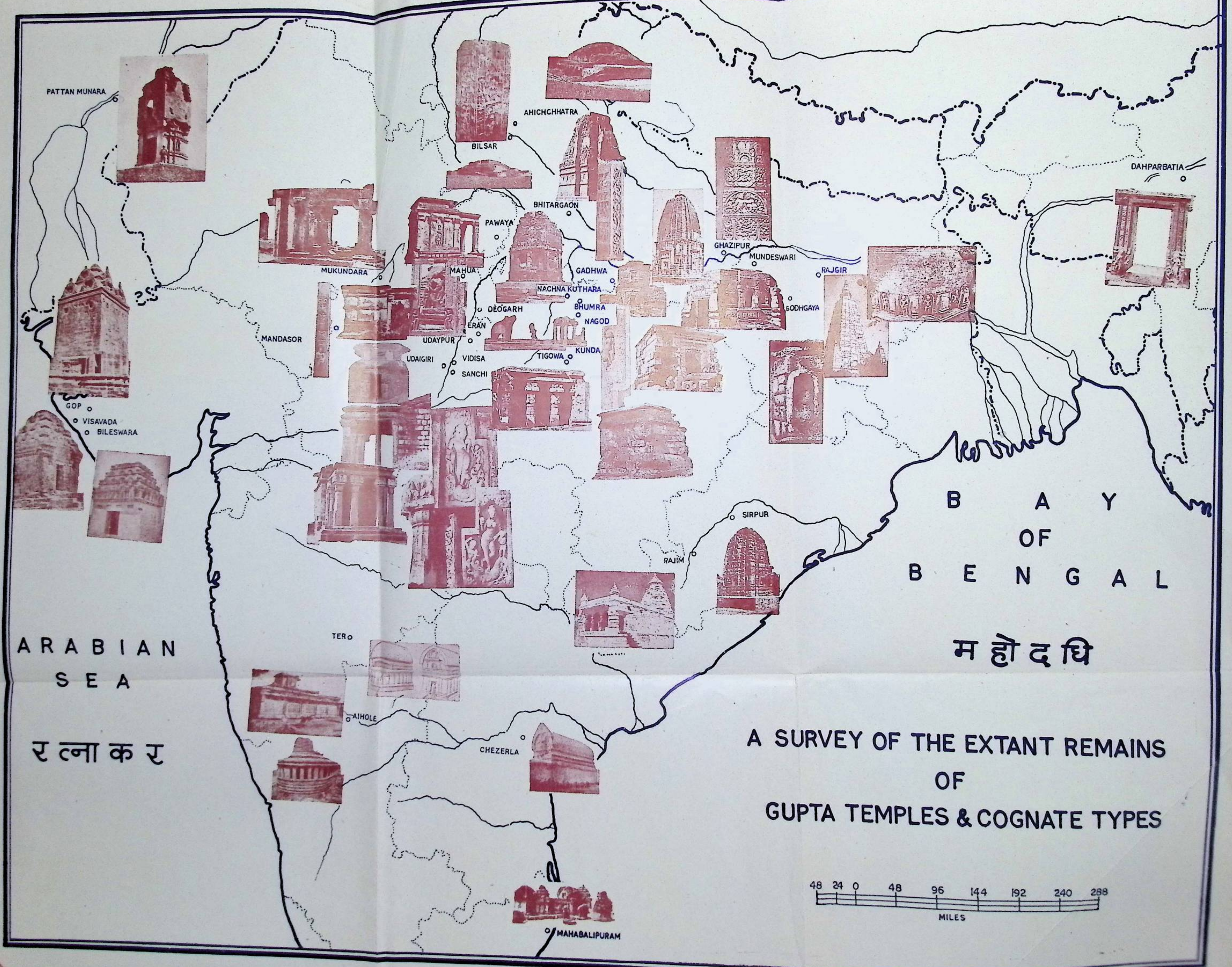


A SURVEY OF THE EXTANT REMAINS OF GUPTA TEMPLES & COGNATE TYPES

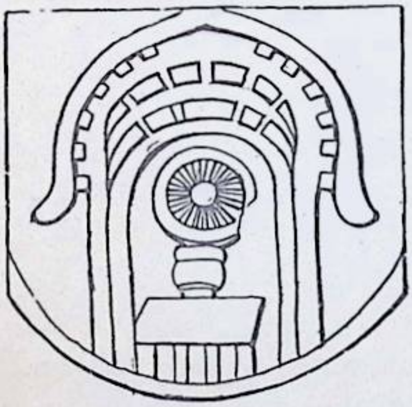
PATTAN MUNARA
AHICHCHHATRA
BILSAR
BHITARGAON
PAWAYA
MUKUNDARA
MAHUA
GADHWA
NACHNA KUTHARA
BHUMRA
NAGOD
DEOGARH
ERAN
UDAYPUR
UDAIGIRI
VIDISA
SANCHI
TIGOWA
KUNDA
MANDASOR
GHAZIPUR
MUNDESWARI
RAJGIR
BODHGAYA
DAHPARBATIA
GOP
VISAVADA
BILESWARA
SIRPUR
RAJIM
TER
AIHOLE
CHEZERLA
MAHABALIPURAM
ARABIAN SEA
रत्नाकर
BAY OF BENGAL
महोदधि
48 24 0 48 96 144 192 240 288
MILES

CHAPTER I

EARLY TRADITION AND BEGINNINGS OF A SHRINE

(I)

The Hindu temple is the most prolific architecture known in India. Both from the point of its development and number it exceeds every other kind of architectural activity. There is hardly anything as attractive as the Gupta temples (such as that at Deogarh or Bhitargaon) from the aesthetic point of view. A study of these temples contributes to our knowledge of Indian architecture in its early creative period when temple-building was taken up as a cultural movement all over the country. Archaeological remains of the Hindu temple in pre-Gupta period have hardly survived, and only a limited number of examples of sacred buildings of the early Gupta times have remained. The temples of the fourth-fifth centuries A. D. show, no doubt, an evolution in their component parts and it is strange that they could not be termed as "primitive." Though in themselves of simple architectural design, they are admitedly the fore-runners of the complex medieval temple. The Gupta temple architecture, thus, is worth studying as it throws important light on the development of Indian temple architecture.



1. Bodhighara Shrine.
Bodhgaya relief.

In the third-fourth century A. D. the long processed classical tendencies led to a standardised way of life, and to a strong urge for beauty and perfection. It marked a definite advance in the whole structure of Indian life and ideals including religion and philosophy, and literature and arts. During this period classical elegance of form expanded in various forms of beauty, which have come to us as the survivals of Gupta civilisation. The new wave of Brahmanic awakening, synchronised with the fresh creative enthusiasm on the part of the strong imperial rulers as well as the people, brought forth an unprecedented era of temple-building activity in the Madhyadesa.[1]

In point of evidence, this fact, however, becomes all the more significant and suggestive as dating prior to the Gupta period no specimen of a Hindu temple remains.[2] The modest shrine as it appears before us from the fourth century onwards, is obviously of a recent origin. It has a design quite simple and unassuming in detail. As a natural corollary, the emergence of the *new* shrine is to be supposed to coincide with the classical 'revival' of Indian culture under the political hegemony of the Guptas.

Not only the political unification, as some scholars would emphasise, accorded a high time of prosperity in all walks of life and civilisation, but in so many ways it was by itself the period of culmination of the Indian genius. The age should be considered as that of Hindu revival only in a limited sense. The rebirth not of Vedic ritualism but the gradual transformation of the erstwhile kindred folk religions into official creeds of Hinduism was achieved : the principal ones being those of Siva, Vishnu, Devi, Ganapati, Skanda and Brahma with *bhakti* or devotion as the life-breath of their system. Thus with the growth of Puranic Hinduism the Hindu temple seems to have emerged out of its *architectural* insignificance.

But as James Fergusson had put it almost a century ago : "There is no *a priori* improbability that the Dravidian races of the south of India, or the indigenous races of the north, may not have erected temples or other buildings at a very early date, but if so, all that can be said is that all trace of them is lost.... So complete indeed, have all the earlier examples been obliterated, that it is now doubtful whether the missing links can ever be replaced.... Besides this, however, from the happy accident of the Buddhists very early adopting the mode of excavating their temples in the living rock their remains are imperishably preserved to us, while it is only too probable that those of the Hindu, being in less durable froms, have disappeared. The former therefore, are easily classified and dated, while the origin of the latter, for the present, seems lost in the mist of the early ages of Indian arts."

He had expressed the hopes that "still as one single example of a Hindu temple dating before the Christian Era might solve the difficulty, we ought not to despair of such being found, while the central provinces of India remain so unexplored as they are."[3]

After the lapse of about a century the position, we know, has hardly improved. However, it will be of potential value here to see how far the preceding architectural forms were responsible for the emergence of a new temple type, whose later examples have survived only from the early Gupta period.

(II)

EARLIER TRADITION

References to Hindu temples are not lacking in early literature* though it is not possible for us to ascertain with precision what their architectural froms were. The Vedic tradition wholly given to the worship through *yajnas* had hardly any scope for the image and its temple.[4] The *vedi* (or altar) for offering oblations to the gods in sacrifice must have been a type made of bricks serving temporarily as a place of worship and sanctity,

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*(1) *Ṛigveda* IV. 3. 13, *Yaksha sadam.* (2) *Shaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* X. 5, *devāyatanam.* (3) *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra* XVI. 18. 13-17, *prāsāda* on all sides of the Āhavanīya Fire. (4) *Āpastamba Gṛihya Sūtra* VII. 20. (5) *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 5. 10-15, *devāyatanam;* III. 55. 7, *devagṛiha.* (6) *Mahābhārata* II. 46. 34, *devasthāna.* For further references from Rām. and Mbh. see, E. W. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology,* pp. 70-3; P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture,* pp. 420-82; Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple* I, p. 135. (7) *Arthaśāstra* II. 4. (56). (8) Bhāsa's *Pratimānāṭaka* Act III, *devakulam.* (9) *Mahābhāshya* II. 2. 34, *prāsāda* of Dhanapati, Rāma and Keśava. (10) *Manusmṛiti* IX. 280, *devatāgṛiha.* (11) *Sthāna*—Mathurā inscriptions, *Ep. Ind.* I, p. 390; *Ind. Ant.,* Vols. VI, p. 202, IX, p. 240; JBAS., Vol, XIII, pt. I, p. 130. (12) *Māhasthāna—Ep.Ind.,* XXIV., p. 210. Etc. See below.

and duly enclosed and protected through improvised means. If there were fire pavilions for daily ceremonial offerings to the gods by householders in some houses or at particular places, it is difficult for us to guess to-day their exact architectural form.

From the Maurya period onwards we have a continuous architectural tradition largely associated with Buddhistic and Jaina creeds up to the advent of the Gupta dynasty with which an epoch of regular temple-building activity dedicated to Hindu pantheon commences. It is almost clear that if we probe deeper into the question of origins of an evolved temple style it is not to depricate the capacity of the earlier architects but it is due to the existence of preceding Indian architecture of a high order in the form of colossal Stupas of brick and stone and rock-hewn caves. Up to a certain stage it was the Stupa which served as a place for offering worship—as Buddha himself had sanctioned in its favour in the *Digha Nikaya*.[5] It was an independent towering mound with railing etc., or a smaller model inside a cave or house. But the shrine was altogether a different concept and its architecture originated from the need of providing some habitation of the deity visualised through symbol or an image.

Incidental references to an 'abode-of-god' have been searched, no doubt, in early Vedic texts, but it appears to be some temporary kind of shelter or pavilion, made of bamboo, thatch or mud. Whether they enshrined any kind of iconic or aniconic representation of the deity is very doubtful. Such sheds may be regarded hardly as temples in the later sense of the term. In fact, fire-altar or *yajna-vedi* had only structural element in the raised altar or elevated platform or dais. That was, indeed, in the beginning, the basic architectural form for a shrine held sacred to various popular folk divinities like the Yakshas, Nagas, the Mother Goddess and similar genii of abundance and fertility. A *Yaksha-sadam* of the *Rigveda* (IV.3.13)[6] must have been such a platform-shrine of the Yaksha.

Elaborate injunctions are laid down in Vedic literature regarding the building of *yajna-vedis,* which were either in open, or enclosed by sheds of bamboo-work or huts. A 'sacrificial house' (*agnidraya, yajna-sala*) is described as covered on all sides (*Satapatha Br.* III.1.2.2; III.6.1.2) with matting except the east where the door was provided. A hut is really called 'the womb' (cp. *garbhagriha* of later) (*Taittiriya Samhita* VI. 2. 5.5), and it virtually separated the *vedi* from the outer space (*Apastamba SS.* X. 5. 1). Such "hut-shrine", which provided the nature of its early form and utility, has continued in not much altered form up to our own days in various parts of the country. And, there is a plausible theory that it might have served as the prototype of early Indian temple.[7] Its representations are seen in the Sungan reliefs and the form was even copied in stone architecture but only sporadically; examples may be cited, as the Lomas Rishi Cave in the Barabar Hills (2nd cent. B.C.) and the Draupadi Rath at Mahabalipuram (600 A.D.).

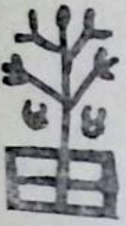
hut-shr

It has often been established that in case of making stone images of Brahmanic divinities, Buddha-Bodhisattvas and also of Tirthankaras, the primitive ideals and form of statuary were taken from colossal, free-standing, frontally conceived Yaksha and Naga images in popular worship.[8] A similar adaptation possibly took place with reference to the mode of worship, as Dr Coomaraswamy has shown in his book on the Yakshas.[9] The popular *bhakti* cult in Yaksha shrines was accepted in Vaishnavism and other Brahmanic sects; Buddhism was involved in this 'no less than others'. The same phenomenon appears to have taken place in the case of "shrine" also, as will be shown below.

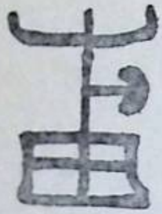
There is ample literary evidence to show that even prior to the time of Mahavira and Buddha there were Yaksha shrines, places and parks where the people made frequent offerings of food and drink. "The haunt or abode *(bhavanam)* of a Yaksha," is "often referred to as *chaitya* (Pali *chetiya*, Prakrit *cheiya*) or *ayatana*.... How often the *bhavanas* of the Yakshas mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina literature should be regarded as constructed temples it is hard to say."[10]

"The essential element of a Yaksha holystead is a stone tablet or altar (*veyaddhi, mancha*) placed beneath the tree sacred to the Yaksha. The *bhavanam* of the Yaksha Suchiloma at Gaya is particularly described as a stone couch (better rendered as dais or altar) by or on which the Buddha rested; the words used are *tankita mancho,* explained in the commentary to mean a stone-slab resting on four other stones (*Samyutta Nikaya,* Yaksha suttas, Ch. X.; *Kindred Sayings,* 1, p. 264). At the Punnabhadra *cheiya* there were not only altars (and probably an image) in an elaborate temple, but also a decorated altar beneath an asoka-tree in the grove."[11]

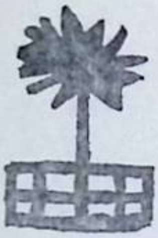
But this description could not be compared to or verified at the present moment from any surviving architectural examples for two reasons, firstly the simple place of worship as *an altar with symbol or without under a tree or shed enclosed with bamboo-railing* has no architectural element which could be retained, and secondly their continuity under different names[12] does not enable us to ascertain their original method of erection. But the early reliefs on the Stupa railings of Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodhgaya are helpful in this direction. The worship of the Buddha by symbols was presumably deeply indebted to the popular Yaksha belief which apart from the image cultus devoted itself to the worship of dedicatory symbols. As exemplified from the illustrations given here, those were actually the popular worship types—tree, slab with symbol or without—which incorporated in primitive Buddhism symbolised the Master. There is hardly



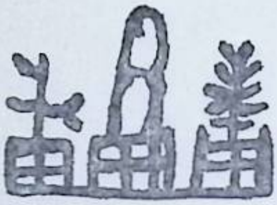
2. Tree-in-railing.



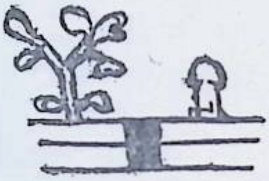
3. Symbol-in-railing.



4. Palm-dhvaja-in-railing.

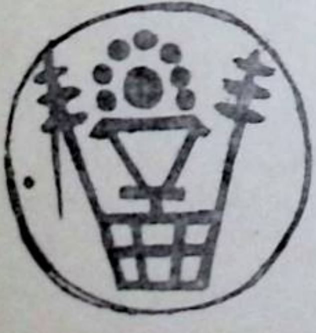


5. Phallus-in-railing.



6. Phallus under tree.

2–3. From punchmarked coins. 4. an early copper coin.
5. a Ujjain coin. 6. an uninscribed cast coin.



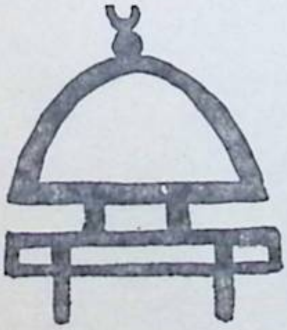
7. From a coin of Suryamitra.

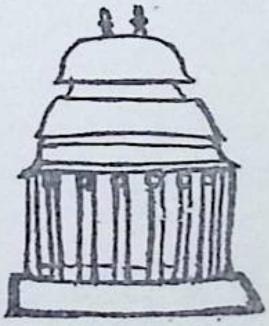
any difference *architecturally* between a stone dais for the Yaksha and the one used for the Buddha. The latter appeared only as a converted type from an earlier one. It is also impossible to know without a labelled epigraph whether the tree in illustration did denote a tree sacred to a Yaksha or a Bodhi tree sacred to the Buddha or the preceding Buddhas.[13]

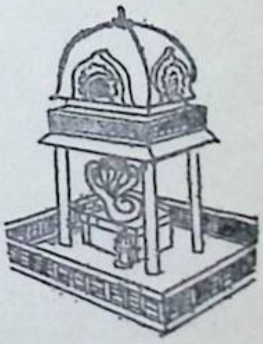
From literature we are able to cull the following types of Yaksha holystead (availed later on also for the Buddha worship). These can be testified from the Sungan reliefs as well.

(1) Raised stone slab with or without symbol carved on it or placed above it.
(2) Raised stone slab with or without symbol under an umbrella.
(3) Raised stone slab enclosed by a railing.
(4) Raised stone slab inside a pillared pavilion enclosed by a railing.
(5) Raised stone slab housed inside a building complex.[14]

Here one thing should be noted that the first and the second types have hardly any architectural form. And in earlier stages the railing etc. of the other forms were mostly of wood and bamboo work.


8. From a punchmarked coin, Bodinayakanoor Hoard.

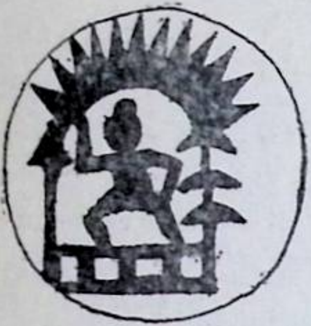

9. From an Audumbara coin.


10. Naga Shrine. Sanchi reliefs. Great Stupa.

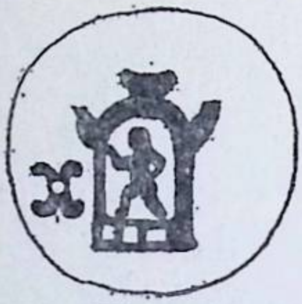
The part played the railing as an element for protecting and marking a holy spot from the outer world, must be well understood from the ancient bas-reliefs as well as some ancient

Indian coins. On the tribal coins we have the railing as demarkating the object of worship. For example, the tree-in-railing, the pillar-in-railing, the capitalled-dhvaja-in-railing, the phallus on platform-in railing, etc.[15]

The other feature required for the protection of a primitive shrine from nature, such as rain and weathering, which emerged from sheer necessity—was an umbrella (parasol on post, or "one-pillared shade") providing full shade. In some cases this purpose was solved by installing the image, or platform under a huge tree, called Chaitya.[16] In case of the Naga images canopied hoods above the head partly served the same purpose.[17]

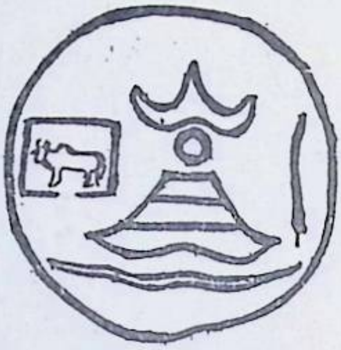


11. From a coin of Jayamitra.



12. of Vishnumitra.

Shrine on tribal coins. C. 2–1st cent. B. C.



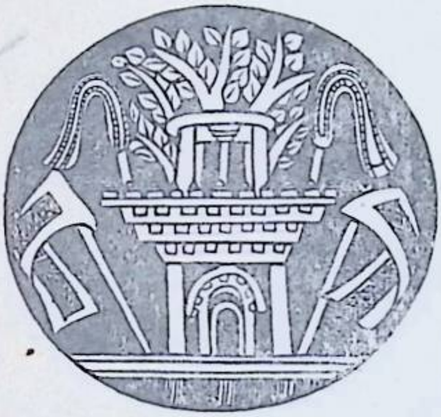
13. From an Andhra coin.
2nd cent. A. D.

I

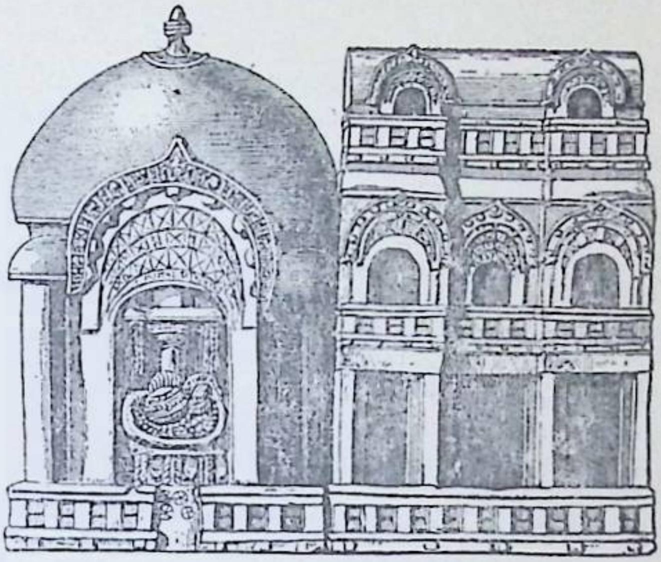
The railing with gates and umbrella or pillared shade combined, undoubtedly presented the first "temple" type. Its further evolution till the pre-Gupta times is very interesting and is fully supported by the bas-reliefs and even ruined ancient temple sites.

The Jaina *Aupapatika Sutra* relates the famous shrine of Purnabhadra Yaksha—with dais (*veyaddhi*)[18], doorway with ritual jars and well fashioned arches (*torana*), underneath the fine great Asoka-tree close to its trunk.

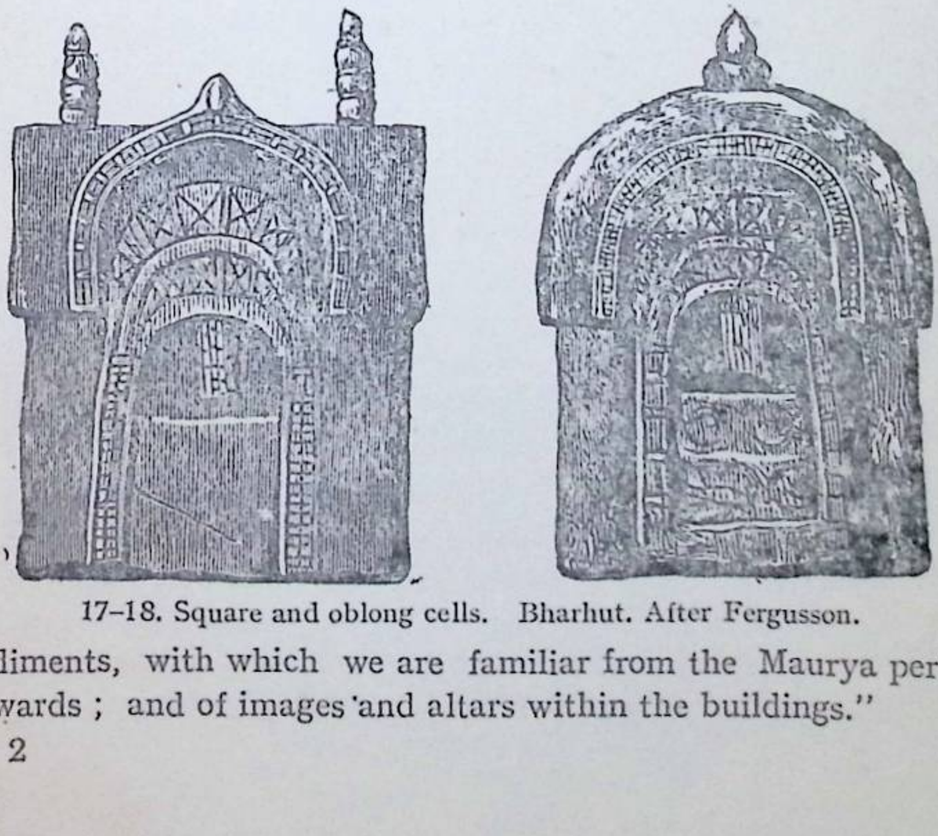
Coomaraswamy's observation on it is as follows : "On the whole, then, we may be sure that in many cases Yaksha shrines, however designated, were structural buildings. What were they like ? The passage cited in the present essay tells us of buildings with doors, and arches (*torana*), which may refer either to gateways like the Buddhist toranas, or as the text has, "on its doorways", probably to stone or wooden pediments, with which we are familiar from the Maurya period onwards; and of images and altars within the buildings."



14. Bodhi Tree temple.
Mathura.

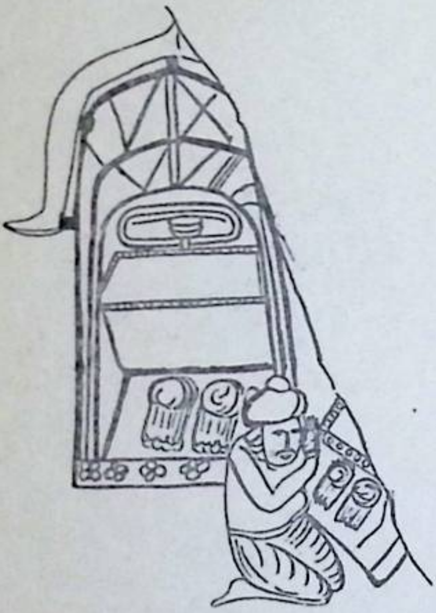


15 16. Round temple and monastery.
Bharhut. After Fergusson.

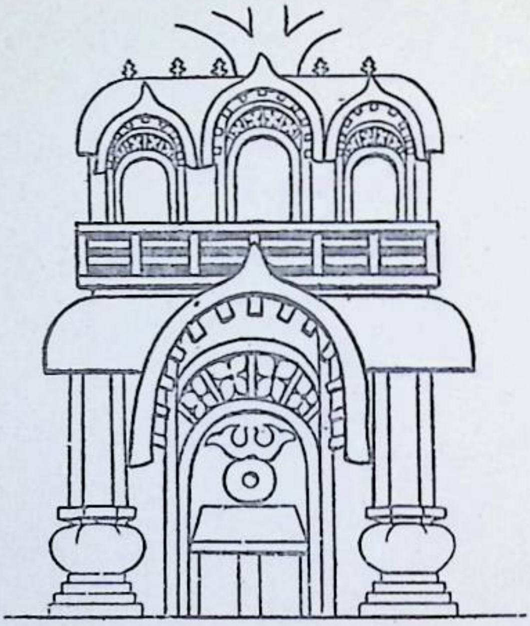


17–18. Square and oblong cells. Bharhut. After Fergusson.

Early stages in the evolution of this temple type can be summarily illustrated from the Sungan and later reliefs. At present, from them only we have to explain how the architect



19. Shrine (of Buddha).
Amaravati reliefs. 2–1 cent. B. C.



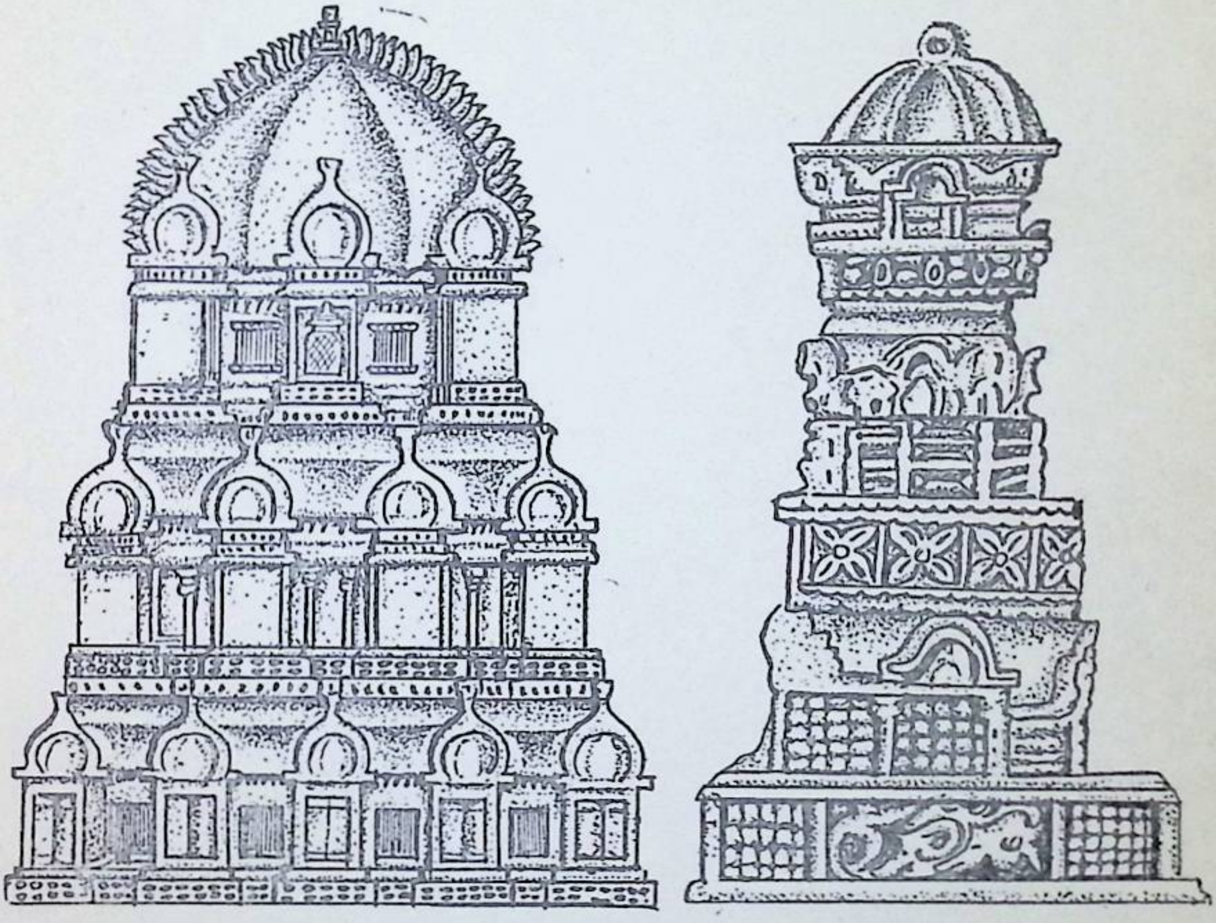
20. Shrine from Bodhgaya bas-reliefs.
1 cent. B. C.

might have worked out the model which combined various elements from more than one source.

(III)

Can any temple-building activity be evidenced from archaeological remains prior to the first Gupta shrine ? This problem now remains to be given proper attention. Perhaps, the earliest remains of a building which can be designated as that of a Hindu shrine were revealed from the excavations at Nagari near Chittor.[19]

It was an open air stone enclosure having a high brick platform in the centre for worship. Only a part of the stupendous fence is preserved, composed of 'large stone slabs inserted in grooved stone uprights', which presumably formed main architectural components of the shrine-complex there. Dr Bhandarkar took it as a railing similar to that round Stupas, originally enclosing a shrine of Sankarshana and Vasudeva of 300 or 250 B.C. at the latest. Its real significance was pointed out by Prof. V. S. Agrawala.[19a] "This presumably was the form of earliest temples. There was an open courtyard with platform, or stone tablet of worship was placed on the platform and around it to enclose the holystead was constructed the fence, or railing or *prakara*...from the excavations of Hathibada or Narayana Vataka done by Dr Bhandarkar a small platform



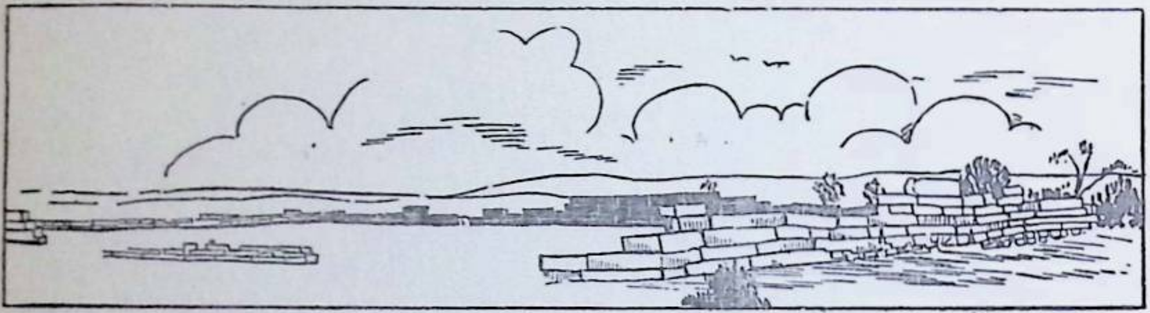
Multistoreyed Structures.

21. From an Amaravati relief. 1 cent. B. C.

22. From a Mathura sculpture. 1 cent. A. D.

or dais was exposed in the western part of Hathibada. On that *Pujasila* or Tablet of worship was placed. This was the earliest mode of worship of a deity."

Prior to the appearance of image, worship was offered on a square stone tablet standing for the deity. This mode of worship was perhaps adopted from the practice of ancient Yaksha worship. *Yaksha-sadam* of the *Rigveda* (IV.3.13) and earlier mentioned Yaksha *chaityas* or *bhavanas* represent the type.[20] The Narayana Vataka of Nagari (anc., Madhyamika) is a unique relic of its kind in India. This may be designated as the ancientmost Vaishnava temple. In fact, in earlier stages the temple was not of the structural type, but the form of such primitive shrines was designed under the open sky by installing a stone tablet of homage on a small platform and enclosing it with a high fencing.*



23. A view of the Narayana Vataka. After V. S. Agrawala.

From recent excavations at the site, an apsidal plan of its original (Maurya-Sunga) foundation has been revealed. It is further noteworthy that in the basic planning, close to the building a series of dedicatory columns were installed, viz.,

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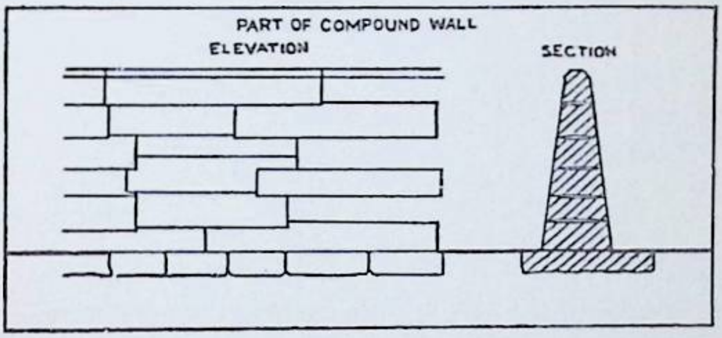
* References from early literature quite happily confirm this view. See above p. 3. Also according to the *Vedic Index* (II, 44), *Prasada* (in the *Sankhyayana SS.* XVI. 18. 13-17) is a raised platform on a mound. The Valmiki's *Ramayana* gives the form of Chaitya or temple as *Vedika-yukta chatvara* with a flight or steps and high roof.

Garudadhvaja, Taladhvaja and others. Now it is legitimate to believe that the apsidal design had already been accepted for the plan of a Brahmanic temple in the Sunga period. However, besides the Buddhist Chaitya-hall, it was accorded significant favour only later in the Deccan as the evidence at present shows from Nagarjunakonda, Ter, Aihole and other places.[21]

The Bhilsa inscription informs us of a *prasadottama* of Bhagavan Vasudeva. The use of term *prasada* for a shrine is also supported from Patanjali.[22] Nearby the Besnagar Garudadhvaja, the brick foundations of a Vishnu shrine are traceable, displaying the very high quality of the material used and remarkable technique of constructions.[23] A solid stone fence unearthed there, perhaps belonged to this shrine. It obviously shows the great emphasis and continuity of the railing in such shrines.



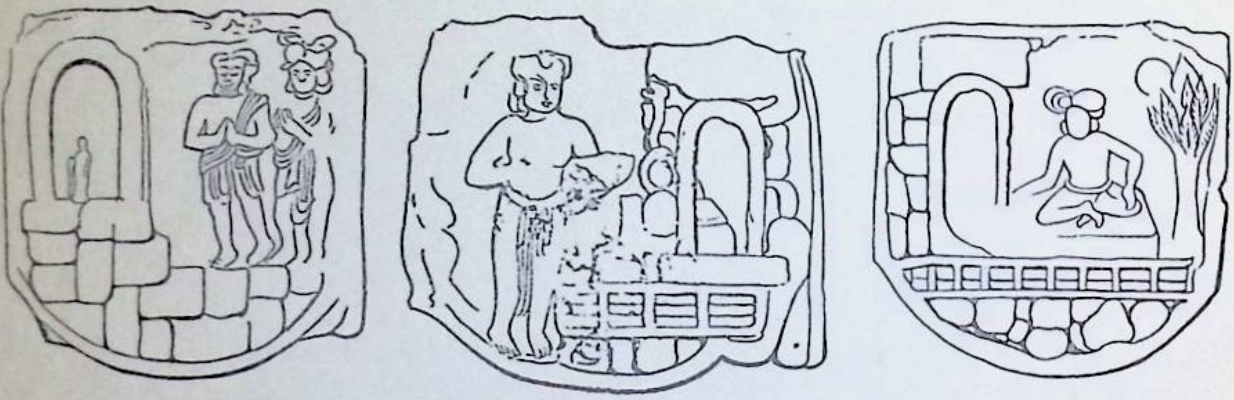
24. Wall of Narayana Vataka, Nagari. After A. S. I.

Erection of a structural shrine type dedicated to the Five Vrishni Heroes is recorded in the Mora Well-inscription, using the trem *Sailadeva-griha*.[24] But another Mathura inscription, though fragmentary in character, incised on a door-jamb, has greater bearings on the present problem, as it records the gift of a *torana-vedika* and *chatuhsalam*, in the Mahasthana of Bhagavan Vasudeva.[25] Perhaps there was a circumscribing railing with Torana gateways around the *chatuhsala* having four-walled building-complex of the temple. This latter term appears to

शैलदेव

denote a marked advancement in the architecture of a Hindu shrine.

It obviously leads to the first temple type based on structural form. It was a house built mainly with the help of four stone slabs, three for the three sides, one for the above roof, and the front side left open as the entrance. Several of the representations of this shrine type can be seen on Bodhgaya reliefs. And, indeed, it served for the prototype of an early Gupta flat-roofed temple.



25–27. Structural shrines from Bodhgaya bas-reliefs.
1st cent. B. C. (After V. S. Agrawala.)

CHAPTER II

Temple Architecture in the Gupta Period

(I)

According to a tradition recorded by the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing, Sri-Gupta built a temple (probably the first Gupta one) at Mrigasikhavana.[26] Sri-Gupta or Gupta, a petty chief in the last quarter of the third century A. D. founded the dynasty of kings named 'Gupta' after him. In the present state of our knowledge, not much is known about the antecedents of the Gupta family before Chandragupta I (third in the line from Gupta), who as a result of his conquests and diplomatic alliances carved out for himself an independent kingdom comprising the territories along the Ganges, viz., Saketa, Prayaga and part of Magadha, and paved the way for future greatness of the family.[27] His son and successor Samudragupta took the responsibility of consolidating[28] the empire and by his successful military campaigns in Aryavarta and Dakshinapatha brought the country under one rule from Orissa to Ujjain and from the foot of the Himalayas to the banks of the Narmada. The Saka states in Western India and the peoples of Simhala (Ceylon) and other distant islands lying outside the imperial domain acknowledged, according to the Prayaga Prasasti, his suzerainty by offering to him all kinds of service, gifts and presents.[29] We have the evidence of Samudragupta's receiving a mission with gifts from the Ceylonese king and his granting permission for building a monastery at Bodhgaya for the Ceylonese pilgrims.[30] There followed no doubt the most glorious period of Gupta history with Chandragupta II, who desirous to conquer the whole earth[31], expanded the empire to its utmost possible limits to the north-west by conquering western Malwa and Saka Satrapis of Saurashtra. This put an end to the domination of the foreigners on Indian soil, and he earned distinguished fame for himself as Vikramaditya of the heroic exploits.[32] The country stretching from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea controlled by a central power witnessed an all round upsurge in religion, literature and art. An unprecedented creative enthusiasm rooted in the economic prosperity brought by commerce with the western world and the eastern islands and guided by the spiritual earnestness of the age, covered the country from one end to the other. Under the aegis of this nation-wide movement backed by the benign patronage and encouragement from the supreme ruling authority, there emerged the characteristic Gupta style of life and art—dynamic and serene, synthetic and refined, asserted and consumate. The long reign of Kumaragupta I, by far the most prosperous period in the rule of the Gupta dynasty[33], was peaceful in the beginning and provided opportunity for the development and culmination of the earlier trends. But in closing years of his rule, the danger from Central Asia in the form of the White Hunas came down. Penetrating through the north-western gates hordes after hordes of the barbarians raided the country, burnt the cities and massacred the population. No doubt there came for the temporary rescue of the country the mighty Skandagupta "the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Gupta"[34] who defeated the Hunas and saved his empire from the ravages of the Hunas. But not for long. The time of Gupta supremacy was now over and after his death the internally disrupted empire could not stand the avalanche of the Huna migrations. Buddhagupta[35], Narasimhagupta Baladitya[36] and Bhanugupta[37], last great members of the imperial line, and Yasodharman of Mandasor[38] are known in history to have inflicted crushing defeats upon the Huna chiefs Toramana and his son Mihirakula, and thus at times offered hopes for the revival of glory.

Out of the ruins of Gupta empire there arose a number of military states struggling for power; those of the Maitrakas, the Gurjaras, the Pushyabhutis, the Maukharis, and the later Guptas of Malwa and Magadha, and other minor powers in the peripheral parts to the east and the north-west.

Much of the Gupta glory in the fields of art and literature seems to have recovered in the early seventh century in the time of Harsha who succeeded in restoring the unity of the disrupted empire of northern India. In fact, by his death the Golden Age of Indian history came to an end.

(II)

How the personal patronage and encouragement of the rulers
of the powerful and cultured Gupta dynasty played a dynamic
role in the erection of Brahmanic shrines is fully proved from the
known records. The inscription on the back wall of the "Tawa 1
Cave" at Udaigiri informs the excavation of the cave as a temple
of Bhagavan Sambhu (*Sambhorgguham*) by Virasena the
minister of Chandragupta II.[39] The short inscription incised
on a big square pillar appertaining to the Deogarh temple shows
that it was the gift of Bhagavata Govinda, probably the same as
the brother of emperor Kumaragupta, at the holy feet of lord
Kesavapurasvami.[40] The Gangadhara Inscription of Visvavarman, 2
the feudatory of Kumaragupta, tells us about the erection of two
temples by the minister Mayuraksha, viz., the one of Vishnu
"resembling the lofty peak of Kailasa", and the other dedicated
to the Divine Mothers.[41] The Dasapura (Mandasor) Inscription 3
of Bandhuvarman of the time of Kumaragupta records the
building of a Sun temple as lofty as the Kailasa mountain
(*kailasatungasikharapratimani*).[42] The Bilsad Inscription of ④
Kumaragupta (year 96=A. D. 415) refers to a temple of Svami-
Mahasena where a *pratoli* and a *sattra* were caused to be
constructed by his minister Dhruvavarman.[43] Indeed, "a group of
temples was caused to be built by king Kumaragupta", as it is ⑤
recorded in the Bihar Stone-pillar Inscription of Skandagupta.[44]
The installation of an image of Sarngin (i.e., Vishnu) by the
emperor Skandagupta is known to us from the Bhitari Pillar- ⑥
inscription[45], and presumably there stood a temple which
enshrined the image in its sanctum. The Indore Copperplate of ⑦
the same king records a perpetual endowment by the Brahmana
named Devavishnu for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in a
temple of the Sun at Indrapura.[46] The recently discovered
stone with a short *prasasti* of Skandagupta from Supia records ⑧
the consecration of an image of the Goddess Shashthi by certain

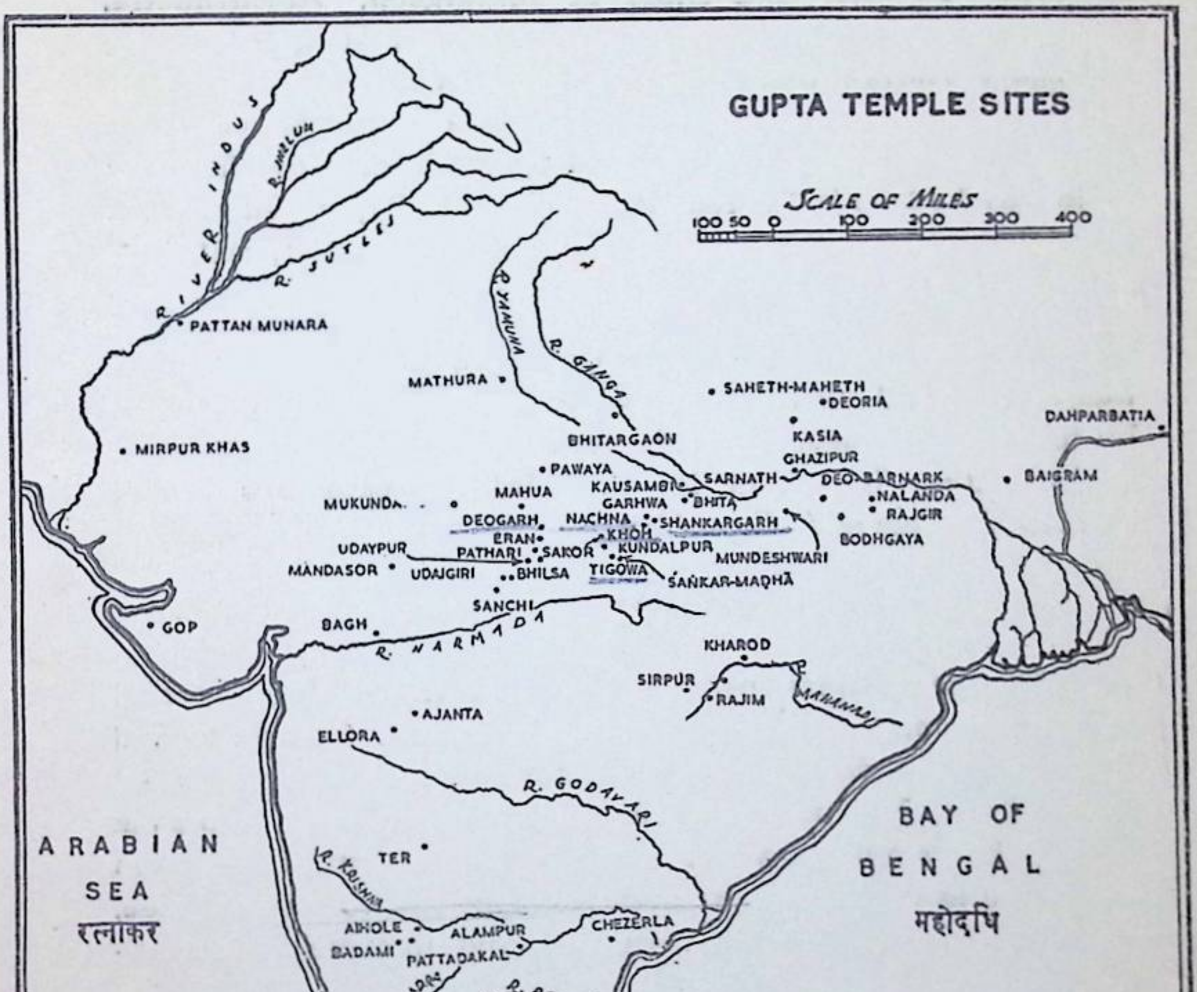
Chhandaka, evidently inside a temple building.[47] Besides, a number of contemporary records refer to royal and individual grants for the maintenance of free-freeding-houses (*sattra*) and other religious buildings. The charitable houses, as we know from records in the North as well in the Deccan and South, were usually associated with the worship in temple and often run under its auspices.

These records fully support the building activity of the Gupta kings. Active participation in the affairs visualised in a dynamic manner the human aspirations of earthly beauty and ideals of the divine in forms of art. A religious shrine was no common building in any way, but the abode of the Supreme Lord to be designed as the symbol of all that was best in art, religion and thought. Now in this period, as has been aptly put by Dr V.S.Agrawala, "the architectural planning of a religious temple, with its circumambulatory railing, stairway, terrace, focal shrine, cella, image, decorative doorframe, friezes, string-course mouldings, an intricate *sikhara* and its *kalasa*, was considered to mark a supreme event in the life of the community, and depended for its success on the completest specimen of its moral and material responses."[48]

(III)

"A comprehensive survey of Gupta art monuments with reference to the sites where they originate is indispensable for understanding the national character of the movement. The geographical factor played a dominant role in the distribution of the monuments, and the pulsating forces of commerce and religious propaganda determined their character and multitude. Owing to historical reasons the largest number of well preserved monuments is found in Madhya Pradesh at present, but at one time the cradle-land of Uttar Pradesh was enriched by temples and buildings in Gupta style on an extensive scale".[49]

The whole of North and Central India was filled in the course of several centuries of activity with shrines of brick and dressed stone masonry. The farthest limits of the movement itself are traceable in the east up to Dahparbatia on the Brahmaputra in Assam, in the north-west up to the Panjab and Sind, in the west up to the coastal regions of Saurashtra, and in the south up to the Krishna Valley. But the influence of the art of Madhyadesa is patent in every detail of sculpture and architecture, whether to the west or to the south.


GUPTA TEMPLE SITES
SCALE OF MILES
100 50 0 100 200 300 400
RIVER INDUS
R. JHELUM
R. SUTLEJ
R. YAMUNA
R. GANGA
R. NARMADA
R. GODAVARI
R. KRISHNA
R. TUNGABHADRA
R. PENNAR
PATTAN MUNARA
MATHURA
MIRPUR KHAS
SAHETH-MAHETH
DEORIA
KASIA
GHAZIPUR
DAHPARBATIA
BHITARGAON
PAWAYA
KAUSAMBI
SARNATH
DEO-BARNARK
BAIGRAM
MAHUA
GARHWA
BHITA
NALANDA
RAJGIR
MUKUNDA
DEOGARH
NACHNA
SHANKARGARH
ERAN
KHOH
BODHGAYA
UDAYPUR
PATHARI
SAKOR
KUNDALPUR
MUNDESHWARI
MANDASOR
UDAIGIRI
BHILSA
TIGOWA
SAŃKAR-MADHĀ
SANCHI
GOP
BAGH
KHAROD
SIRPUR
RAJIM
AJANTA
ELLORA
BAY OF BENGAL
महोदधि
ARABIAN SEA
रत्नाकर
TER
AIHOLE
BADAMI
ALAMPUR
PATTADAKAL
CHEZERLA
MAHABALIPURAM

As has been pointed out above, the main cluster of surviving Gupta sites is to be found in Bundelkhand and Malwa : Bhumra, Sankargarh, Nachna Kuthara, Kari-Talai, Deogarh, Khoh, Tigowa, Kunda, Pathari, Eran, Sanchi, Bhilsa, Udaigiri, Besnagar, Udaipur, Jankhat, Mandasor, Nagari, Mukundara, Mahua, Bagh and Pawaya. Besides, we have the ruins of the Gupta temples in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar at Bhitargaon, Ahichchhatra, Kausambi, Gadhwa, Bhita, Deo Baranark, Rajgir, Sarnath, Bodhgaya, Kasia and Sravasti. The influence of the art movement which originated in the heart of the Gupta territories penetrated outside the empire proper and in its peripheral overflow the style may be seen in the temples such as at Rajim, Sirpur and Karhod in Berar, Chezerla in the Krishna district, Aihole in Bijapur, Ter in Hyderabad and Gop in Kathiawad.

As the region of ancient Gandhara and the north-west was overrun and cut off from the empire after the fifth century by the white Hunas, it could now only reveal the ruins of ancient sites. Important for their brick remains are Pattan Munara, Shorkot and Mirpurkhas.

(IV)

All the temples that can be dated in the Gupta period have some common architectural and sculptural features typical of the age, and were for the first time recognised as such by Cunningham. No archaeological stratification could help us in dating the temples, as not a single Gupta temple has been discovered in course of systematic excavations. Our main guide, other than the art style is inscriptions, and they are again available only in a few cases.

Cunningham had noted during his archaeological surveys, as early as 1874–7, as incorporating two seasons' tour in Bundelkhand and Malwa, a number of "undoubted specimens of the architecture of the Gupta period".[50] In his own words : "The most striking characteristics of the Gupta style are the following :

(1) Flat roofs without spires.

(2) Prolongation of the door lintel beyond the ends of the jambs.

(3) Statues of the river goddesses Ganges and Yamuna guarding the entrance door.

(4) Continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building.

(5) Pillars with massive square capitals ornamented with half seated lions back to back, with a tree between them.

(6) Bosses on the capitals of a peculiar form, like beehives with short side horns.

(7) Deviation in plan from the cardinal points."[51]

(8) Of the facade, the intercolumniation in the middle being wider.

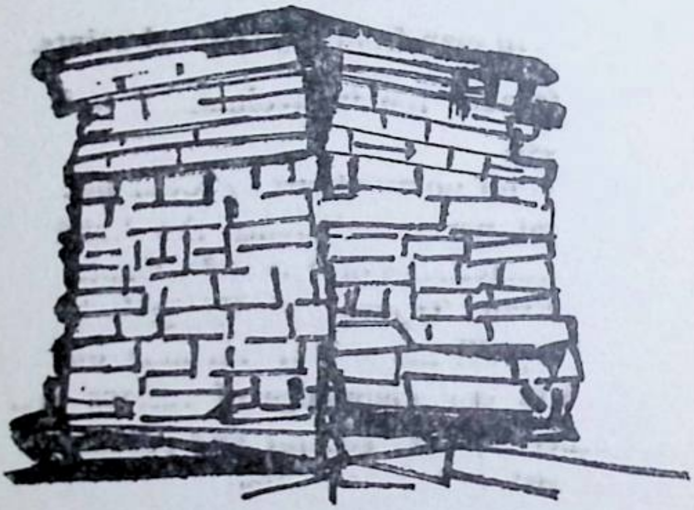
These fundamental observations by Cunningham in finding the set architectural norm underlying the building pattern, distinghuishing characteristics of the early Gupta period represented by Sanchi, Eran, Tigowa and Udaigiri, have remained largely unmodified up till now. But valuable discoveries have successively added to our knowledge of various architectural, sculptural and other details, general and peculiar forms, and their associations with and contributions to subsequent Indian architecture.[52] Besides a few modifications and changes in the order of their chronology, a comprehensive attempt is still wanting to explore their links with preceding architecture, gradual evolution of their different component parts by comparative analytic method and sculptural wealth. The great mass of the literary material has also to be corroborated with and interpreted in the light of existing monuments.

(V)

Three miles east of Tigowa (in the Jabalpur Distt), a small temple has been recently discovered at Kunda. Locally known as

Sankarmadha, it is a Saiva shrine of red sandstone masonry. It consists of a plain cella, measuring 5′7″ × 5′10″ inside and 10′8″ × 10′10″ outside, almost a square. The stone doorframe shows three recessed bands on either side and a lintel, all rigorously plain and simple. Only the architrave over it bears square "beam-end" bosses. Long stone blocks running entire width of the temple formed an especial feature of the masonry. The roof itself was composed of two massive slabs clamped by metallic cramps.

At a subsequent date, a pillared mandapa was added to the front now almost ruined. Obviously it was not anticipated in the initial planning. Fragmentary stones and members at the site tend to show this renovation taking place in early Gupta period, vouched clearly from the style of sculpture and the certain methods employed in architecture.[53] Another important feature to be noted is the probable presence of lotus-ceiling of the mandapa as indicated by a roof-slab fragment preserving portion of the design.



29. Sankarmadha Temple at Kunda.

This shrine, however, appears to represent a very early structure of rough dry masonry; perhaps anterior to the erection of the Sanchi and Udaigiri Gupta temples, in fact, a "*pre-mandapa*" precedent, nearest to the Bodhgaya prototype.

An early Gupta temple showing the simplest type of a small flaf-roofed pillared shade or mandapa for enshrining an object of worship, stands inside the Darra or mountain pass connecting Malwa with North India. It is now called Mukundarra which served as a regular highway in the Gupta period and later. The following features of the temple may be noted here due to their importance for the history of early Hindu temple architecture.*

(1) It stands on a raised plinth measuring 44′×74′ with stepped approaches from the left and right corners of the front side,

(2) The temple faces east.

(3) The main shrine *(garbhagriha)* consists of four square pillars, 5½ ft. apart from each other; very small size.

(4) Flat topped roof covered by a single stone slab of moderate size carved with a big full-blown lotus in the centre showing two bands of petals and a band of floral scroll work.

(5) On each of the three sides of the sanctum stand two pilasters at a distance of 3′×9″. The pillars are surmounted by capitals with three projections on which three lintels were placed, each covered by a rectangular flat stone carved with five lotuses on the inside. On the front side also, at a distance of 5½′, in a line with the sanctum pillars, were erected two square pillars which supported the capitals and lintels and were covered with a flat top stone, so that on all sides of the temple a continuous circumambulatory path was provided.

(6) To the east, separated by 18 ft from the shrine once existed a *mukhamandapa* (probably for the Nandi bull), resting on four square pillars; on one of them was read before the demolition the name 'Gopavarman' in Gupta script, pointing to its early date [54]

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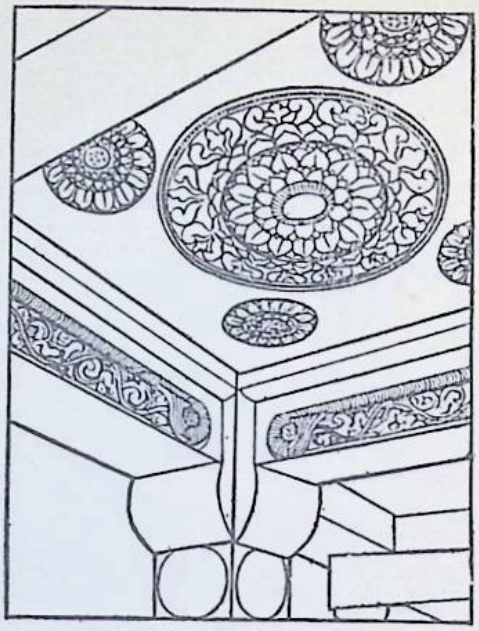
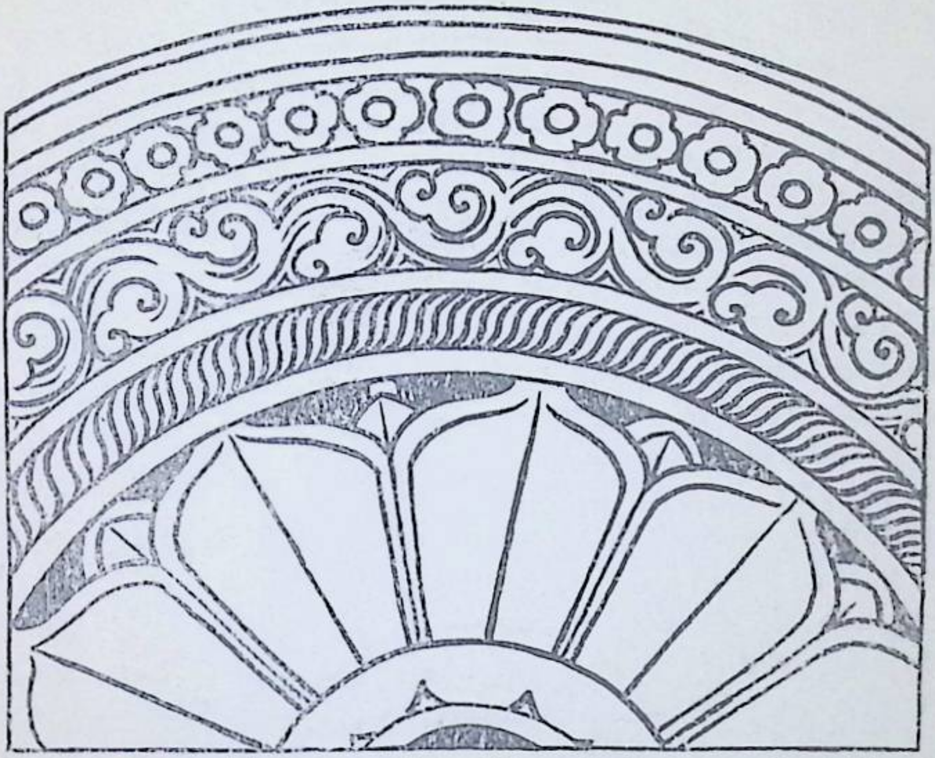
*This description of the Darra temple is largely taken from the account given of it by Dr V. S. Agrawala in JUPHS., Vol. XXIII (1950), pp. 196 f.

Percy Brown also noted the archaic construction of this temple and observed that this example consists of the remains of "a pillared portico of immense blocks, suggesting such a giant handling of stone that only its precise cutting and fine carving save it from being characterised as cyclopean. While there is something not unattractive in the ingeneous chamfering which breaks up the mass of the pillar shafts a decorative treatment remotely related to the Buddhist railing pillar the fabric in its entirety has a definitely archaic flavour, recalling the massive strenth and dexterous simplicity of the 'sturdy Dorians' in Greek architecture. It shows little knowledge of construction, the only problem solved being that of placing one stone on another, the first step in the art of masonry building."[55]


30. Siva Temple. Darra. Ceiling carved with lotus. After V. S. Agrawala.

Obviously the design of the temple presents an extremely simple type, showing closer affinities with the known shrine represented in Bodhgaya reliefs. As pointed out by Prof. V. S. Agrawala, the architectural feature of square flat top of the sanctum is similar to the square parasols of the Bodhisattva images found at Maholi, Mathura and Sarnath, which were placed above free standing images.[56] It is also comparable to the similar design in a few early rock-cut shrines at Udaigiri (p. 26) and also one at Melacheri (near Gingee). Partly preserved roof slab of the Gupta temple at Eran also shows a *Padma* design for its decoration. Temple 45 at Sanchi of which earliest establishment should date from the Gupta period, also shows an elaborate lotus ornament on the ceiling. Earlier to it, a similar lotus design may be seen embellishing the ceiling-slab in the *mukha-mandapa* of the Tigowa temple. Though the presence of the developed *pradakshina-patha* may be a little misleading, but its matter-of-fact plan and open sides, its simple design of pillars, undeveloped front and main stress on scroll decoration, all point to the fact that the Darra temple should be earlier than any of the other Gupta temples.

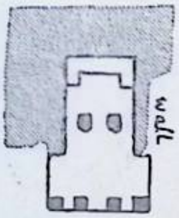


31. Fragmentary slab from a ceiling at Eran. Prob. from a Gupta Temple.

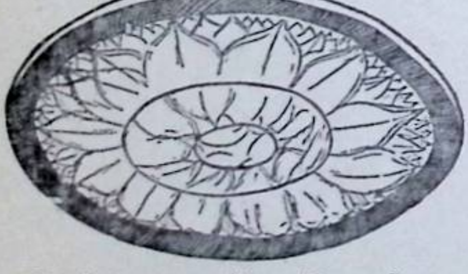
Besides this rather aberrant type archaic in character, the earliest group of Gupta temples is represented by those structural examples as at Sanchi, Tigowa and Eran. These may be assigned to the period of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II. To the period of Chandragupta II are ascribed a series of excavated shrine chambers at Udaigiri (Udayagiri), one of which bears an inscription of his time. This class may be termed as the 'pre-Sikhara' type. Though, these examples are possessed of 'a generical formula of a flat roof and pillared portico', they greatly differ in details of plan and elevation. A certain scheme of evolution in their dimension and other elaborations can be detected which may help us in appreciating the zealous labour on the part of the Gupta architect who advanced the style to a zenith in a limited period of two or three generations.

The full credit goes to the Vidisa craftsmen[57] for devising the first standard model for the Gupta temple. These gifted and creative artists backed by the technical efficiency of centuries, set at work sparing no trouble or skill to comply with the orders of their enthusiastic and devout royal patron. They did overcome tactfully some architectural problems as may be seen in the partly rock-hewn and partly constructed temples at Udaigiri when compared to the structural temple built down the hill only five miles away at Sanchi.

The cave, No. one, perhaps the earliest of the series, is a "False cave" temple, the front and one of the sides being built up, but the roof is a natural ledge of rock, which covers the whole temple. Its edges are cut into mouldings.[58] Internally, this is a plain (7′ by 6′) sanctum cella. In front is a 7 ft. square portico cut out of the rock, supported on four square pillars with the wider intercolumniation in the middle. Its architectural value lies in the simple facade adorned by the figures of the Ganga and Yamuna and rather plain and rugged pillars. We have its inerior quite plain except for the enshrined figure which was originally hewn out of solid rock at the back wall.[59] (This shows the adaptation of the practice of cutting Stupa out of the live rock in the Buddhist cave-Chaityas). As is pointed out by Percy Brown, the importance of this "False cave" lies in the fact that it is probably the earliest Brahmanical sanctum that has survived.[60]

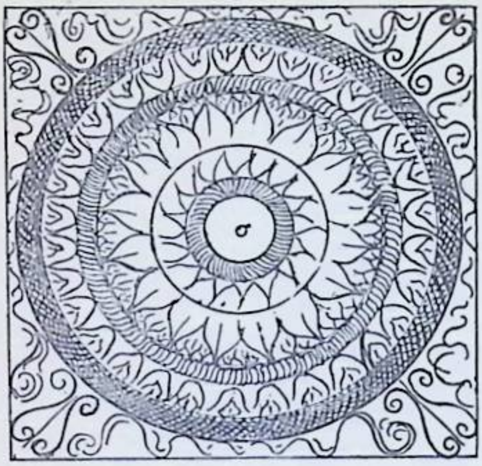


32. Plan. False Cave. Udaigiri.



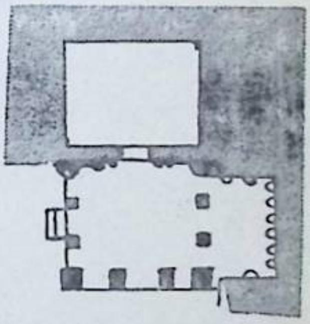
33. Lotus on ceiling. Tawa Cave. Udaigiri.

Other cave chambers at Udaigiri are more or less the works in the same continuation evolved on the basic formula set at by the "False cave". The important fact to be noted in connection with the Tawa Cave (with Chandragupta's inscription) is its ornamented inside with a large lotus flower, 4′6″ in diameter, almost in a similar manner as in the Darra temple roof. (Above p. 24) But the main feature for elaboration is the doorway front of these caves.



34. Lotus-ceiling. Cave 17. Udaigiri.

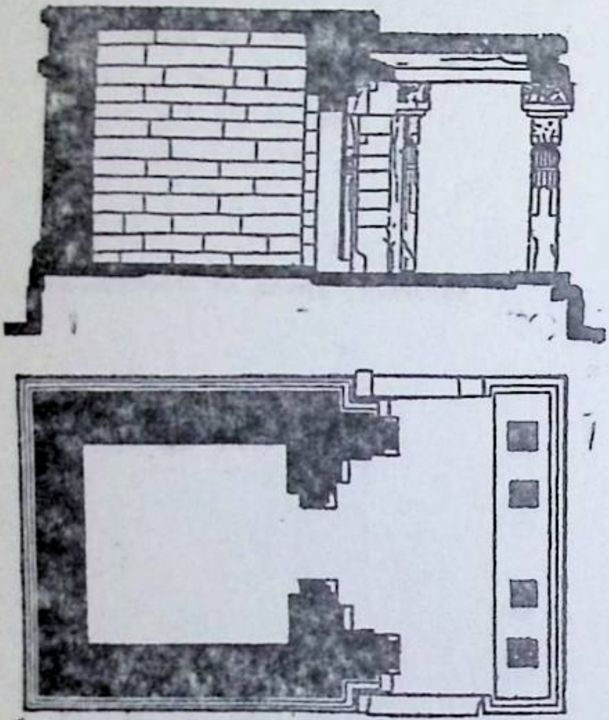
Notwithstanding the inexperienced stage of masonry techniques evident from the instances, 'the rock-cut facades, especially the doorways, are richly carved', and display the early stage in the evolution of the Gupta entrance. The much evolved entrance of the Bina cave represents an ornamental doorway with a plain frame surrounded by three courses of rich mouldings. On the door there are five cusped bosses with small circular panels, each containing a figure. Some caves show a figure of *dvara-pala* on either side of the door finely carved with bell-capital pilasters supporting the river goddesses mounting their vehicles (which is here only crocodile).



35. Plan. Bina Cave. Udaigiri.

The Amrita cave, the largest and perhaps latest of the Udaigiri cave group, presents a far more spacious and evolved conception with its richly ornamented pillars and doorway. In the centre of its ceiling, a lotus medallion can be seen displaying fine chisel.

Side by side, at Sanchi, was erected the most typical and 'the oldest structural temple'[61] of its class, described below. Though a very unpretentious structure consisting of a single flat-roofed chamber with a pillared porch in front, despite its moderate size, and with no claim for high ornamentation, is well balanced and fully lithic in forms.[62] On the top may be seen the spouts for discharging the rain water. The architrave of the portico is continued round the body of the temple as a simple moulding.[63] The pillars with massive square capital and campaniform above the octagonal shaft, are externally the most attractive member of the architecture. "The flat roof", says Cunningham, "the square form, and the stern simplicity of this structural temple, all point to the rock-hewn cave as its prototype; and in the neighbouring hill of Udaigiri we have actual rock-hewn examples of this very style." He further made the important observation that, "In early times, where a cliff was at hand, a cave seems to have been preferred; but on the top of the Sanchi hill, as on the plain at Eran, where a cave was an impossibility, a structural temple was a necessity."[64] And as the Brahmanic temples were needed to be erected in the populated areas such as villages, towns and cities in the plain, the mason's art grew and progressed with full swing.



36. Gupta Temple. No. 17, Sanchi.
Plan with section. After Marshall.

The small temple near Udaypur[65] may also be classed with the Gupta temples, as showing all the characteristic features of the type. It consists of the simplest type of a cella and a pillared porch. The *garbhagriha,* a building of small dimensions, is square in plan, with as much height as the diameter itself. Thus a well defined cube covered with a flat ceiling it is an unassuming monument with plain exterior except a course of three horizontal thin friezes carved with a series of rhomb or diamond motifs. In its architectural set up, it appears to be a replica of the temple at Sanchi, from which it is not removed in place and also in time (?). From the simplicity of the sculpture and plainness of the roof without any outlets, its early date could be assumed. It appears even earlier than the Eran and Tigowa examples, the latter with an evolved scheme of pillars and door-frame decoration.*

The Udaipur temple represents the stage, like Sanchi and Tigowa instances, when the plinth has not developed as an ornamental[66] and elevated part of the building.

Tigowa,[67] about 150 miles apart the Vidisa group, at one time a village of temples, but almost all of which have now disappeared owing to the deliberate spoliation in the 19th

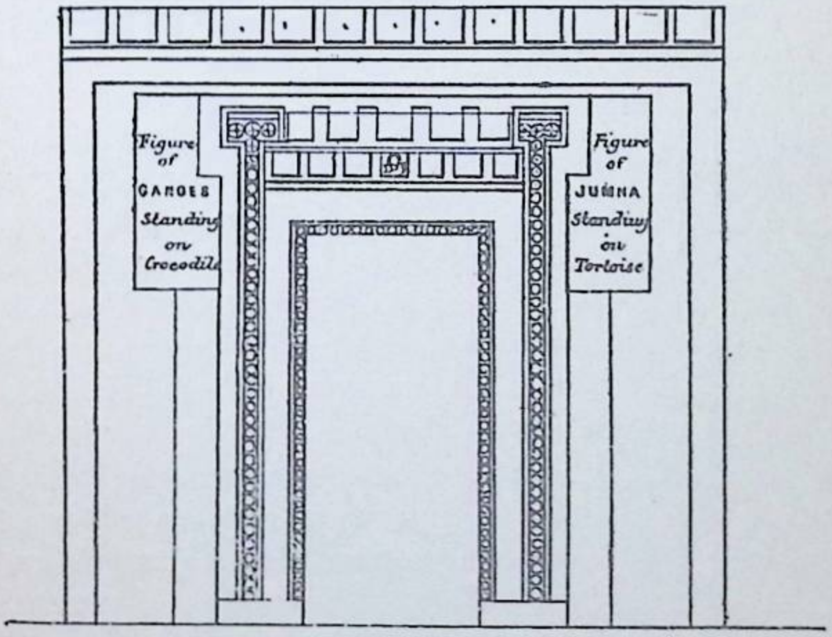


Figure of GANGES Standing on Crocodile
Figure of JUMNA Standing on Torloise

37. Doorframe. Temple at Tigowa.

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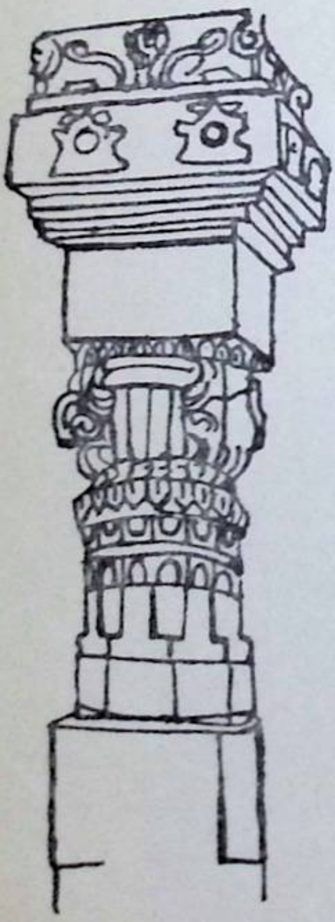
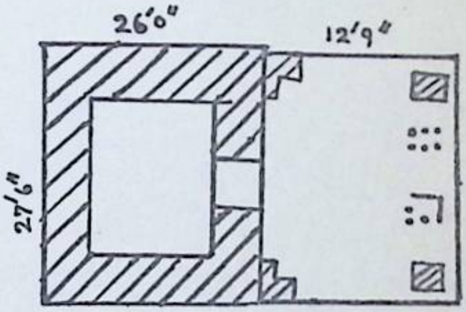
* From certain other considerations its early date may be doubtful. However, if of a later date, probably 7th century, it retains an archaic look with relevant details in the present context.

century, fortunately preserves another early Gupta temple. It is a stone building, 12′9″ square, covered with a flat roof. The portico, supported on four pillars with the middle intercolumniation of 2′9″, leads through an ornate entrance doorway into the 8′ square cella enshrining a Narasimha image. We see here a definite advance from the Sanchi temple; the Ganga-Yamuna figures on their mounts surmount the side pilasters of the door; the pillars, possessing instead of simple reeded bell capital of the Asokan-column type as at Sanchi, show fluted bells like Udaigiri type, which belongs to the second stage.


38. Pillar. Tigowa Temple.

Now it is known as the Temple of Kankali Devi. In architectural proportions it has drawn inspiration from the Sanchi temple and is remarkable for its coordinated composition. It was a true prostyle, but converted at a later date to a templum in antis by adding walls on the two sides. Its frontage, in spite of later additions, retains the original appearance with the our pillars exactly alike in conception and ornamentation, with the single exception in details of the lion capitals.[68] On a plain square pedestal, the shaft becomes eight-sided and then sixteen-sided, and lastly almost round above the cord where we see capital of the *kumbha* type with turn-overs, topped by a square massive abacus carved on the face with *chaitya*-arches and surmounted by two lions with a tree between them. The other ornamented part of the shrine is its entrance door. It is framed by pilasters on each side which form supports for the river-goddesses on their respective mounts. Above them is the lintel, and over that a line of thirteen square bosses, the device which represented in the wooden prototype the ends of the beams. These projecting bosses here are quite plain, a feature particularly pointing to its archaic conception.[69]

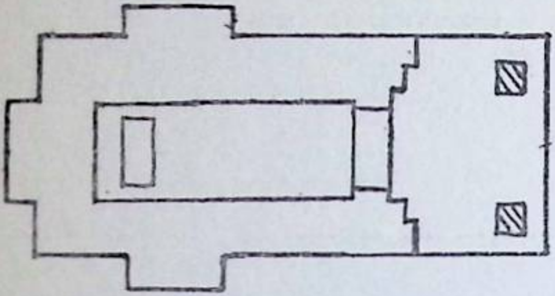
At Eran or ancient Airikina, among several Gupta temples the oldest one is that dedicated to the Narasimha Incarnation of Vishnu. It is much damaged, and only some portion of the front was standing *in situ* when Cunningham saw and excavated the site.[70] The description of the temple given by him is invaluable as it based on his work there in which he succeeded to recover several of the missing parts, including the pillars of the portico. As he writes, "The Narsingh temple consists of a single room 12½ feet in length by 8¾ feet in breadth, with a portico in front supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation like that of the Gupta temples at Tigowa and Sanchi, is greater than that of the other two, being 4½ feet in the centre against 3¼ feet at the sides. The pillars themselves are no longer standing but their positions are clearly defined by chisel marks on the surface of the plinth. They are of the pure Gupta type with a large square abacus, of twice the breadth of the shaft surmounted by two lions sitting back to back with a tree between. The lower part of the shaft is plain, but the upper half is highly decorated. The old bell capital of the Asoka period has now been considerably altered by bands of ornament, and the addition of foliated turn overs.... The pilasters of the doorway were of the same pattern as the pillars of the portico, and the whole was a highly decorated specimen of the early Gupta style of architecture.



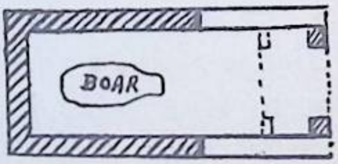
39. Sketch of plan. Narasimha Temple. Eran.

"The enshrined figure of the Narsingh Avatar was 7 feet in height. The roof was flat as usual, the chamber being covered by two slabs, each 13 feet 8 inches long by 7 feet 6 inches broad and 1 foot thick. These two slabs had slightly raised edges, and the junction was covered by a single narrow slab running the long length.''[71]

The other two temples at Eran itself are those of Vishnu and Varaha the latter dated to the reign of Toramana (A. D. 500). The Vishnu temple, as we now see it, according to Cunningham, is later by at least two or three centuries than the Narasimha temple. He observed that the early portico, as well as the body of the building was left unfinished; it is not improbable that it may have fallen down, and afterwards rebuilt as we now see it. Its flat roof is the only early feature, but much more massive than that of the Sanchi and the Tigowa temples, rising 3 feet 3 inches above the capitals of the portico pillars. However, it cannot be ascertained that how far he was justified in attaching the Samudragupta's epigraph to 'the old temple of the colossal Vishnu, with its massive capitals and mouldings which were discarded at a later date for pillars of a more highly ornamented style.'[72]



40. Sketch of plan. Vishnu Temple. Eran.



41. Plan. Varaha Temple. Eran.

A few words may be said here about the Varaha temple at Deogarh.[73] It is likely that several of the sculptures and the architectural fragments represent relics of an early Gupta temple at the site. The image of Varaha enshrined in the sanctum is to be regarded, beyond doubt, as the one surviving from the initial establishment. However, the original construction, as the ruins at present show, was renovated after a few centuries of its existence when it was rebuilt and provided with a windowlike unusually small doorframe (with opening of 1′ 4½″ × 3′ 6″). It cannot have been a part of the original building as enshrining the large-sized (5′ 8″) Varaha statue and the existing column, if the place occupied by it is original, appears to have formed with three other corresponding pillars, placed at the four corners on a square plan, a *mandapa*-shrine similar to that at Eran or Darra. The pillars probably supported a flat stone is only an inference which cannot be verified from the present ruins representing the largely modified building of later Gupta period.

Perhaps the first attempt contributing to the evolution of Northern Sikhara in Gupta temples may be recognised in the roof of the temple at Mahua which, though it may appear to be later, is archaic. In other respects it appears to follow closely the early genre of sanctum and pillared porch, it shows a certain amount of marked development in the form of its roof. Attempts are here clearly discernible at raising the height of the roof. The somewhat higher roof formed of two or three (just more than one) receding slabs placed one above the other would have been the first step in the evolution of Sikhara.

The tendency to make the roof heavier and heavier had, perhaps, obvious reasons. In a later section, we will refer in somewhat greater detail to the various theories about the origin of the *Sikhara*, but, here, we propose to discuss the internal evidence.

As we have already emphasised, the necessity of protection from the inclemences of nature of a sacred symbol or idol had primarily led to a construction of a temple type, which developed through various stages, (i) a raised platform with railing, (ii) pillared pavilion, (iii) hut or closed wooden housing and (iv) a cella of wood and brick. It had, as is evident, been trying towards durability, all the time. A single-door, flatroofed sanctum of stone, eventually appeared, of which the non-ephemeral character was much greater than any other previous stage. But the opposite climatic conditions of India favoured again the evolution of a Hindu temple, which was now to be designed on an extensive scale and greater splendour. The protection from the heavy rainfall, heat and weathering, from above in the plains of northern India of such a new Hindu temple entailed so much labour, expenditure, and the creative zeal as a symbol of religious and artistic proclivities of the people. From this point of view, the different stages of the roof of a Hindu temple may be seen as follows :—

(1) The flat-slab appearing on Bodhgaya bas-reliefs, also in the Darra and Kunda temples.

(2) Roof made of different stone slabs, joints covered, with cornice mouldings projecting all round, with spouts and conduits for discharging the rain water. Examples may be seen in Gupta temples at Sanchi, Tigowa, Udaypur and Eran (Narasimha.temple).

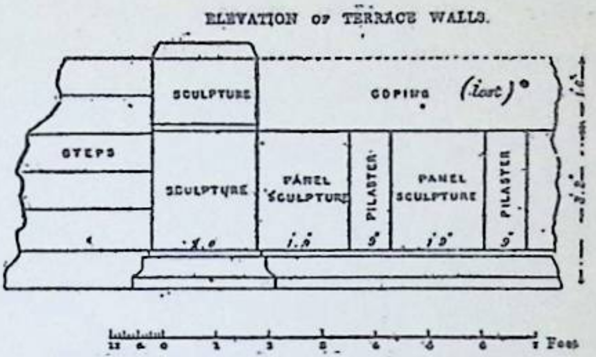
(3) More massively constructed roof as at Eran (Vishnu temple), consisting double moulding.

(4) Composed of more than one steps or planes of slabs placed one above the other. They were to be placed as receding in length and breadth from below, there being no provision for the water outlet; the only way to safeguard the building from rainwater was to let it fall down without collecting on the roof.

(5) The next stage is met with at Deogarh, which shows a three-staged pyramidal tower built in gradually receding tiers, with semitorus mouldings at different stages and perpendicular projections on four sides, corresponding to the three side *rathikas* and door-opening on the body of the temple.

The Vishnu temple at Deogarh is a gem of Gupta art and architecture.[74] It is an inspired work of some great architect and resourceful builders with a wealth of beautiful scuplture and reliefs. It provides a glorious record of Gupta genius and is a landmark in the evolution of Gupta temple architecture ; we are here face to face with a happy epitome of contemporary art and a religious establishment finest of its class. Interest not only lies in the excellence of its figure-sculpture both in their design and in execution but the marked achievement in the vertical form of architecture.

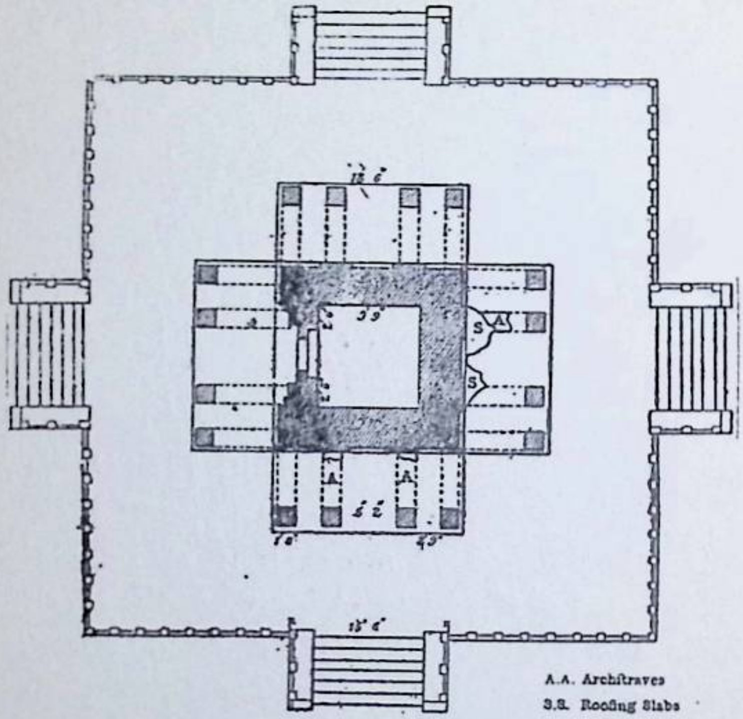
The temple stands on a high plinth, accessed by a flight of steps on four sides. It was laid out on the usual square plan, divided into nine squares, the central one being occupied by the sanctum itself. There were originally on the same terrace, revealed by the excavation carried out by Sahni, four smaller shrines one on each corner,[75] hence it is the earliest known *panchayatana* example in north India. The terraced basement is adorned with a continuous row of sculptured rectangular panels framed by short pilasters on all the four sides. No doubt, this feature rendered the temple terrace an attractive part of the monument providing ample space for carving religious and mythological scenes in stone, a number of which are preserved on the face of the Deogarh plinth (*jagatipitha*).



42. Vishnu Temple. Deogarh.

The Garbhagriha is of moderate size, measuring 18′ 6″ square outside, and 9′ 9″ square inside with the four walls 3′ 7″ thick. While the western wall of the main shrine is pierced by a highly carved doorway, the other three sides and the exterior of the back wall consist of three large ornate panels, each framed between two pilasters, lintel and a sil. "In each case, the two inner facets of the framework exhibit a foliated scroll rising from an auspicious conch placed head downwards and a band of rosette-and-leaf pattern respectively. This combination reminds of the auspicious *sankha* and *padma* associated with doorways referred to in literature of the Gupta period."[76] These big *rathika* panels (5′ × 4′) show a group of three scenes carved in high relief from Vaishnava mytholgy, viz., Gajendra-moksha, Nara-Narayana-tapasya and Anatasayi Vishnu.

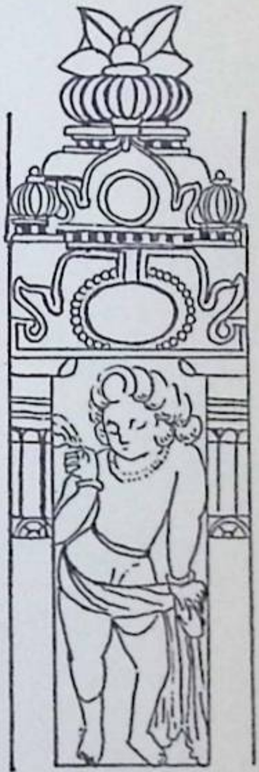
To protect these side niches and the entrance were, according to Cunningham,[77] Fuhrer,[78] Banerji[79] and Brown.[80] four small proches, or a covered gallery all round. But Vats in his monograph on Deogarh disagrees with Cunningham and others on certain grounds. He is of the opinion that there were no such porticos on each side, and 'too much has evidently been made of what remains of the beams of the entablature and the shading canopy.'[81] According to him the entablatures above the doorway and niches were carved with a simple frieze of arched-windows projecting on strong cantilever beams (17″×12½″ to 14″×12½″ in section) four on each side, and a deep and continuous flat canopy effectively shaded the reliefs on the remaining sides without causing any obstruction to the view. The stones of the canopy, as well as the cantilever beams, are deeply embedded into the walls and gradually taper along their upper surface only.[82] Though it is difficult to accept the possibility of projecting proches altogether improbable, it is apparent that there was presumably an architectural expedient to protect the sculptures. Whether it was in the form of proticos or simple continuous projecting canopy, it is not possible to ascertain now.[83]



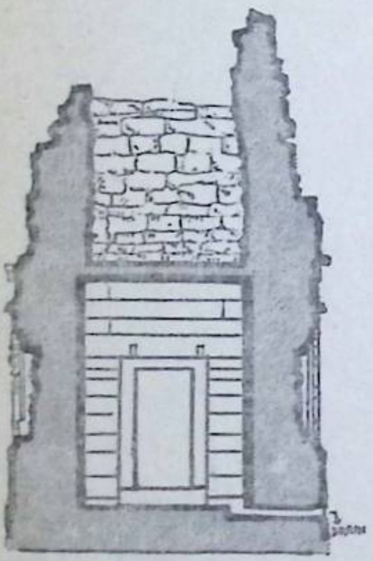
43. Plan. Vishnu Temple. Deogarh. After Cunningham.

The exquisitely carved entrance of the temple is not only its best preserved portion but also the inspired work of some great artist. Its frame (11′ 8″×10′ 9″) enclosing the doorway proper (measuring 6′ 11″×3′ 4½″) shows an excellent scheme of several decorative motifs, viz., male attendant, female attendant, garland-bearing woman and *kichaka*-dwarf, each occupying onefourth portion of the jamb and continued upwards in the form of a band *(sakha)*, with some others like *mithuna, chaitya*-arch and foliated friezes and designs. The lower part of the lintel above *(lalata)* in the centre bears the figure of a fourarmed Vishnu seated on the serpent Sesha, which helps in the identification of the temple as a Vaishnava shrine. On its two side corners, the figures of the Ganga and Yamuna are shown standing on their vehicles, a crocodile and a tortoise respectively, a feature pointing to its early date. Noteworthy is a frieze of five arches, a decoration with lionheads and a fine string-course.

The most important part of the temple apparently is the *sikhara* which rises in diminishing tiers above the double cornice at the terminals of the walls. Only the lower part of this remarkable top has survived. But over the outer vertical band of the doorframe the carved replicas of the temple representing it in profiles are of great help in determining the original form of the *sikhara*. No doubt, it followed in its formal design the ground plan of the cella itself; thus with the large projection in the centre of each side corresponding to the *rathika* and door projections from the temple walls, as is clearly traceable on the north and front (i. e., west) sides of it. It consists of gradually receding tiers or storeys of stone-block courses, perhaps three when complete. It appears to have been a straight-edged pyramidal structure with projection on each side mainly carved with the *chaitya*-window motif. As


44. Sikhara temple, from doorjamb relief.

could be gathered from the reliefs on the jambs, there were perhaps four angle-*amalakas* on the second storey to relieve the plainness of its four corners, and above on the top of the rather small third tier a well-defined arrangement of corrugated *amalaka-kalasa*-finials.



45. Section. Vishnu Temple. Deogarh.

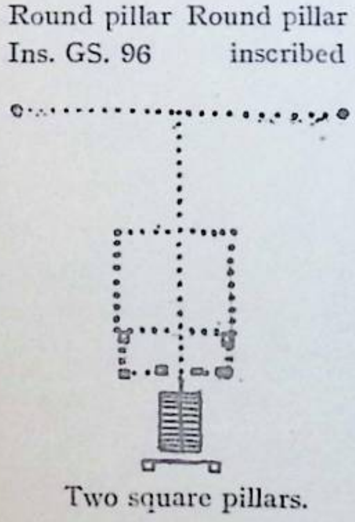
Cunningham assigned 'a comparatively early date to the temple' on the basis of the excellence of its sculpture, though he was not inclined to place it 'earlier than A. D. 600'.[84] Daya Ram Sahni, on the basis of a two-lined early Gupta epigraph discovered by him dated it to the early Gupta period,[85] while R. D. Banerji concluded that it could not be much earlier than 575 A. D., as the *Sikhara* according to him made its beginning only towards the close of the sixth century A. D. Percy Brown assigned it to c. 500 A.D., and Vats to the early part of the sixth century. However, besides the style of the sculpture and ornate carving, our particular guide in dating this shrine is the short Brahmi inscription, placed palaeographically in the last quarter of the 5th century or the first quarter of the 6th century A.D., recording the monument as "the gift of Bhagavata Govinda at the holy feet of the Lord of Kesavapura." Bhagavata Govinda known from a Basarh Seal and a Gwalior Inscription was the second son of Chandragupta II from his wife Mahadevi Dhruvadevi.[90] In this light, the erection of the temple could be placed in the later part of Chandragupta's reign or somewhere in Kumaragupta's reign, when Govindagupta himself had ruled in Malwa as governor.

The date may well range from A. D. 400 to 430. For several reasons we believe that the Deogarh temple in the chronological chart of the existing Gupta temples should belong after the group of Udaigiri cave-shrines, Sanchi and Tigowa temples. The position of the Deogarh shrine among Gupta temples is conspicuous as it represents the first known Sikhara-type in northern India. It had opened with its moderate spire a new epoch in temple architecture and paved the way for lofty Sikhara-temples; being erected at least a few decades before the poet could imagine in the Mandasor Inscription a temple Sikhara as towering as a hill peak.[91]

Other early temples inspired from the Deogarh temple have unhappily disappeared though their achievements could be gathered from a number of fragmentary door-frames and various architectural members noticed and reported from time to time by various writers. They may be noted as follows :

(1) A large figure of the Ganga standing on her crocodile. From Besnagar carved in masterly manner on a stone fragment originally from a temple doorway. It is apparent that it stood on the right end of the lintel, which must have belonged to a temple of the Gupta age.[92]

(2) Remains from Jankhat village show *makaravahana* Ganga figure, which evidently was placed above the lintel level of a temple, presumably in the early Gupta style.[93]



46. Probable site of Gupta temple. Bilsar.

(3) Four pillars from Bilsar (in Etah Distt, U. P.), two of them bearing inscriptions of Kumaragupta of which one is dated in Gupta Era 96 (=A. D. 415)[94]. Cunningham thus describes it, "The top portions of all four pillars have disappeared long ago, and nothing now remains save what was buried under ground. But the inscriptions of Kumaragupta luckily exist to show that the two square pillars must have formed part of the temple of the Gupta period.... In accordance with the invariable practice of the Gupta builders, the figures of the Ganga and Jumna are also found upon the two square pillars of this Gupta temple at Bilsar.... The details of these pillars are almost precisely the same as those of the Gupta temples and caves at Sanchi, Udaygiri, and Eran.... This would have been a simple square building, with a portico of four pillars in front near the top of the staircase. The roof would have been flat, and the ornamentation would have been limited to the doorway and the architraves."[95]

(4) Fragments of an *amalaka*, the crowning member of a Sikhara temple, unearthed near Chittor at Nagari, and datable to the fifth century.

(5) Ruins of a temple exposed at Baigram in the Dinajpur district, Bengal. "According to the copperplate inscription dated 128 G.E. (447-48 A.D.) found at the site the remains represent the temple of Lord Govindasvamin, erected by one Sivanandin, for the maintenance of worship and repair of which some land was purchased and made over by Bhoyila and Bhaskara, the two sons of the builder."[96]

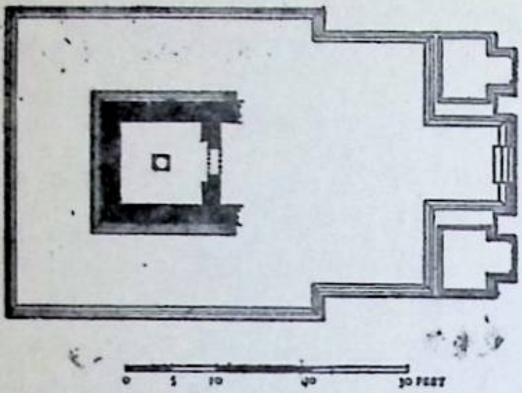
(6) A highly ornate pillar from Ghazipur. In the Municipal Museum, Allahabad. C. 6th century. Evidently it came from the ruins of a Gupta temple.

(7) Inscriptions incised on pillars also testify to the existence of Gupta temples, at Gadhwa, Kahaum[97] of the time of Kumaragupta I and Skandagupta. At Kahaum (in Deoriya, Gorakhpur) the two temples were in ruins when Cunningham visited the place. But Buchanan had opportunity to see them before their total destruction and described them as pyramidal in form, with two apartments one over the other, as in the great temple at Bodhgaya. Cunningham from his excavations of the site could only learn that it was of small dimensions and consisted of a room 9 ft square with walls only 1 foot 6 inches in thickness. The building, therefore, was only 12 ft 6 inches square on the outside.

A sub-type, not true Gupta but rather Gupta-Vakataka or Vakataka, is preserved in the Bhumra and Nachna Kuthara temples. In both the cases the architect appears to be concerned more with the provision of a covered path of circumambulation than with the Sikhara.[98] From the style as well as the mason's marks in the Siva temple at Bhumra, R. D. Banerji considered it to be the earlier of the two.[99] S. K. Saraswati who differs from the above view, takes the Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara on the basis of its simplicity of design and decoration to be the earlier.[100] However, it is not possible for us to class these two examples as the *early Gupta* temples. As to the Bhumra temple it should be noted that it exhibits only two features to be called early : the slab roof and the large ashlar masonry. Otherwise the position of the Ganga and Yamuna figures at the bottom of the jambs, indistinct form of the pilasters in the doorframe, closed mandapa with an additional carved portal with similar goddess figures, a miniature shrine on each side of the staircase, elaborately decorated figures in friezes and in *chaitya*-window niches, and the decadant workmanship and profusion of bodily ornaments in the enshrined Ekamukha Linga, all point to a date later than the Deogarh and other connected instances.

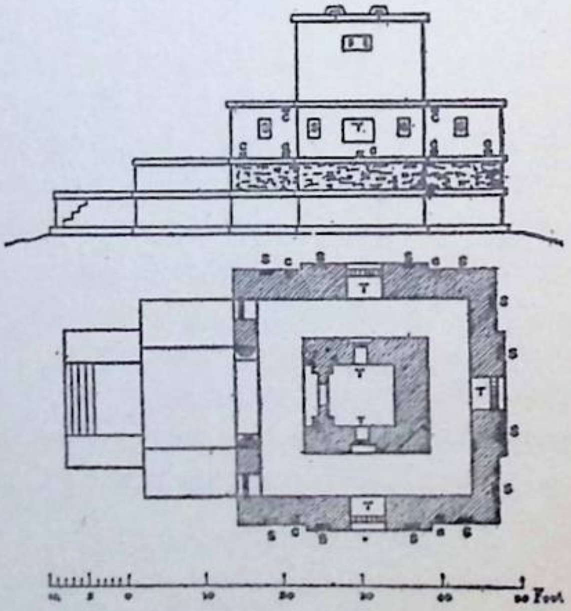
The possibility is that it was constructed perhaps in the time of Parivrajaka Maharaja Hastin (A. D. 475–510) who meditated on the feet of god Mahadeva in the village of Amloda (=Bhumra);[101] in its building the evolved Gupta plan, techniques and sculptural scheme were availed of. It is also possible that originally it was an early Gupta monument, which was rebuilt in the time of Maharaja Hastin when the new Linga, doorframes, cloister, front mandapa, plinth decorations and other embellishments were added. A special feature of the 'Vakataka' plan may be regarded in its having a covered gallery round the sanctum which we see here introduced for the first time, and also which is present in the other example of this territory.

At Bhumra what remains standing from the Gupta-Vakataka temple, is the square plain sanctum cella with a one-slab flat roof measuring 15 ft 8 inches. The entire building was 35 ft square with a large mandapa or porch (of 29′ 10″ by 13′) in front of it. From the ruins it can be guessed, the main sanctum was enclosed by a covered path of circumambulation. The sanctum doorframe exhibits a rich scheme of ornamentation, each jamb divided into three vertical bands of exquisite carving; with the figures of Ganga and Yamuna occupying the lower portion. The geometric and floral designs of the inner and outer bands continue over the lintel which shows a powerful bust of Siva in the centre. The roof was composed of huge slabs of stone laid across the inner sanctum some of which have been damaged and were found crashed below on the top of the colossal Linga installed inside. A great wealth of carved pillars and panels were recovered from the ruins of the frontal mandapa, including part of its huge doorframe showing Yamuna on tortoise at the bottom.



47. Siva Temple. Bhumra. After ASI

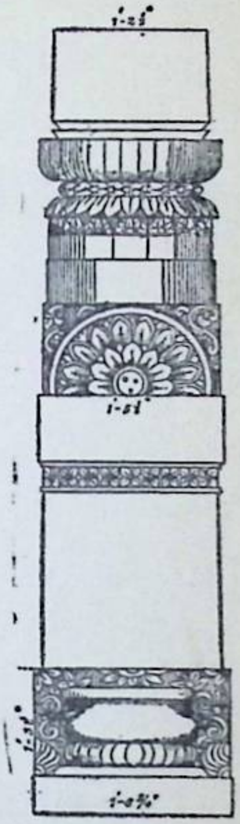
The Parvati temple at Nachna Kuthara is of a similar design, better preserved than the Bhumra temple. Here the actual disposition of the sanctum (15′ 6″ square outside) inside the larger chamber (33′ on the outside) serving as the covered path of circumambulation has survived in its original design. The temple is curious from the conventional imitation of rockwork on all the outer faces of its wall.[102] The inner chamber is dimly lighted by two trellises, formed of simple square loop-holes one in each side



48. Plan and elevation. Parvati Temple. Nachna Kuthara. After Cunningham.

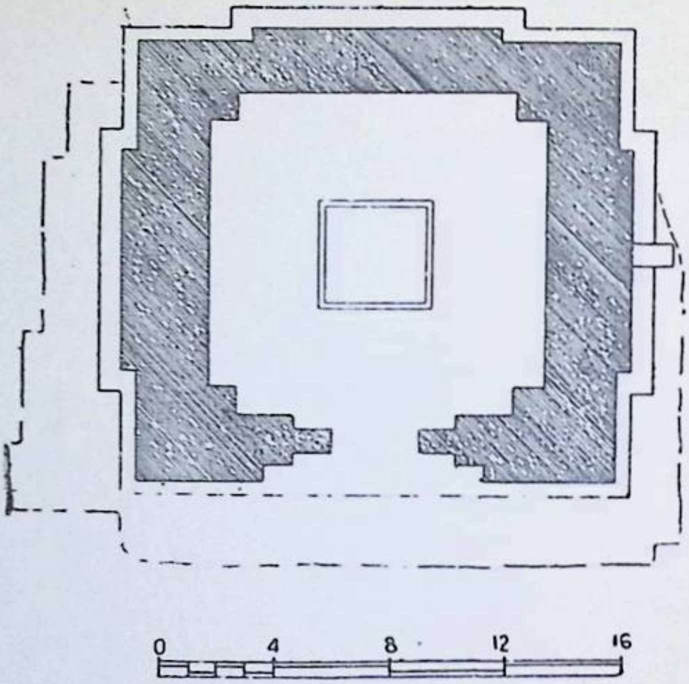
wall, receiving light through corresponding trellis in the cloister wall. There is an upper storey, quite plain inside and outside, covered by a flat roof of slab pointing that no Sikhara was ever intended. The richly carved doorway of the sanctum is a little more evolved than those in the other Gupta tempies, and show human figures in pairs on each jamb, ending with small but prominent figures of the Ganga and Yamuna. Here also, as in the case of Bhumra temple, in front of the entrance on the extended plinth there is a open mandapa nearly 12′ square, reached by a flight of steps.

There is no sign of Sikhara though there is a small chamber above the sanctuary, this itself proves that the architect never intended to build a spire over the shrine. In the same direction the flat roof of the upper chamber indicates that there was no Sikhara. Also no remains of a staircase could be traced which might have led the visitor in earlier times to the upper storey; the fact indicates that probably one of the purposes in building the upper room was to raise the height of the temple as to make it visible even from a distance.


49. Pilaster. Parvati Temple.

The Parvati temple due to its upper storey has been a curious one in eyes of scholars, and has often been compared with other such shrines of the Chalukyan territory, viz., the Lad Khan, the Kont-Gudi, and the Meguti temples at Aihole, having an upper storey in each case.

The other two temples, standing *in situ* in their restored medieval form, belonging to the Gupta period and rebuilt in the 9th cent., were discovered by Banerji at Sankargadh[103] and by Cunningham at Nachna Kuthara (Mahadeva Temple[104]). Both of them, with their original superstructure in its unaltered form are to be placed in the early Gupta spire class represented by the Deogarh shrine. However, Banerji[105] puts the Sankargadh temple earlier than the Nachna Kuthara Mahadeva shrine. But from the comparison of its doorway to the entrance of the Parvati temple at the same place and with that of the Deogarh temple it seems to have belonged to the early Gupta temple group, and retained its original doorway throughout the successive renovations. It shows the river-goddess figures on the top of the door-jambs and a similar scheme of ornamentation as in the case of Deogarh temple.[106]

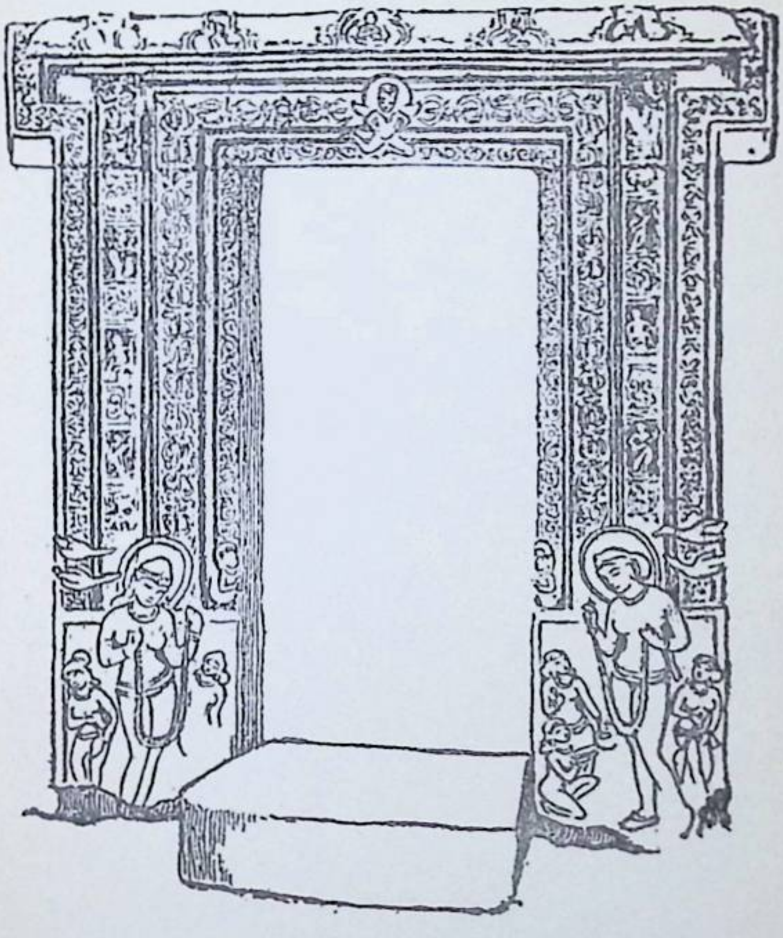


50. Plan. Mahadeva Temple. Nachna Kuthara. After ASI.

The great Mahabodhi temple, which was seen by Yuan Chwang, is also of the same group, rebuilt in subsequent periods more than one occasion, the present Sikhara is datable to the 10-11th century.[107]

The brick temples starting from that at Bhitargaon form a class of their own. It is, however, noteworthy that the Bhitargaon temple with its original scheme of superstructure is the only surviving example in brick from which an idea could be formed of the temple Sikhara as it appeared in about 500 A.D. There had existed other Gupta brick temples, as revealed from the excavations at Baigram in Bengal and Dah Parbatia in Tejpur, Assam, which are broadly to be placed earlier than the Bhitargaon example, but not much of them remains to give idea of their superstructure.

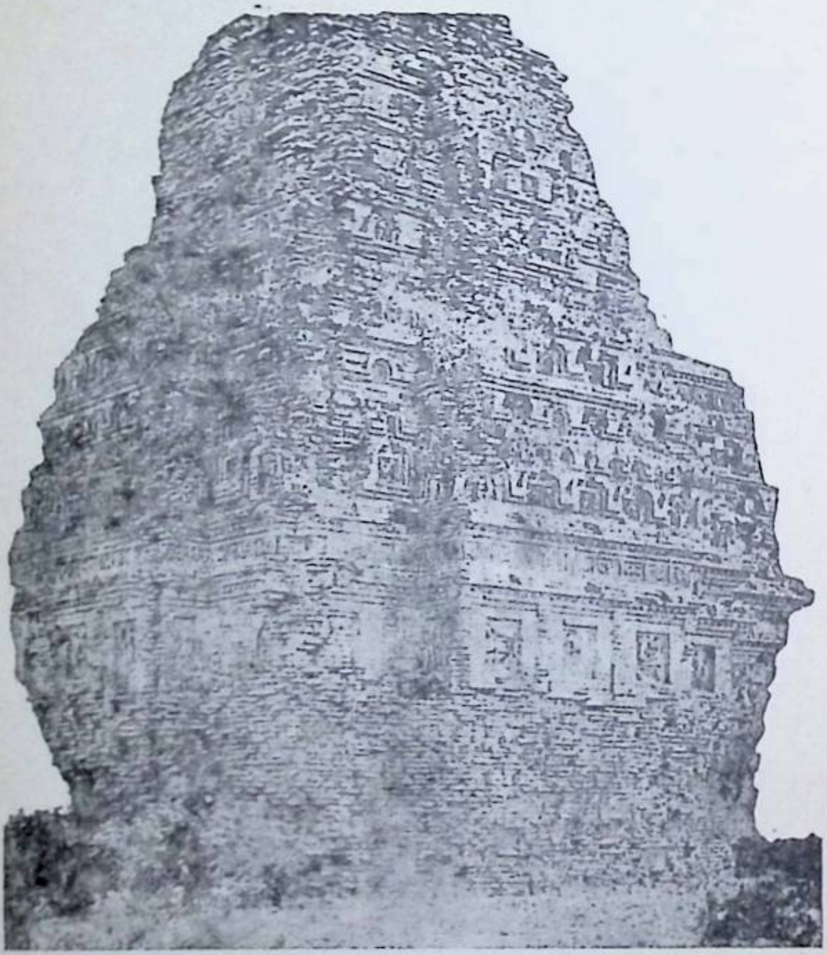
The remarkable life-sized Ganga and Yamuna images discovered at Ahichchhatra were fixed at the two sides of the steps leading to the upper terrace of the Siva temple there (see below). Their prominent positions occupying the full vertical spaces of the door-jambs on either side represent the transitional phase and exhibit how the goddesses once located at the top descended to the bottom of the frame in later temple entrances. As such we see them in very high relief on the exquisite stone doorframe at Dah Parbatia in Assam surviving from a Gupta brick temple. This portal has been regarded by art-critics as one of the best specimens of its class in the Gupta period. It is closely connected with the Deogarh doorway in its details and



51. Doorframe. Gupta Temple.
Dah Parbatia. (After C. Sivaramamurti)

displays a step further in the elaborate scheme of carving, namely the number of bands is increased to five; behind the halo of the goddesses now with increased number of attending figures there appear two flying geese, etc.

The temple of Bhitargaon is remarkable for several reasons. Not only the oldest brick temple in existence, it is a unique specimen of the brick architecture of the Gupta period for its tower.[108] Standing on a considerable high plinth, it is built on the principles of a square plan similar to other early shrines, but with a doubly recessed corners a marked feature of importance perhaps making its first appearance at Deogarh. Thus the



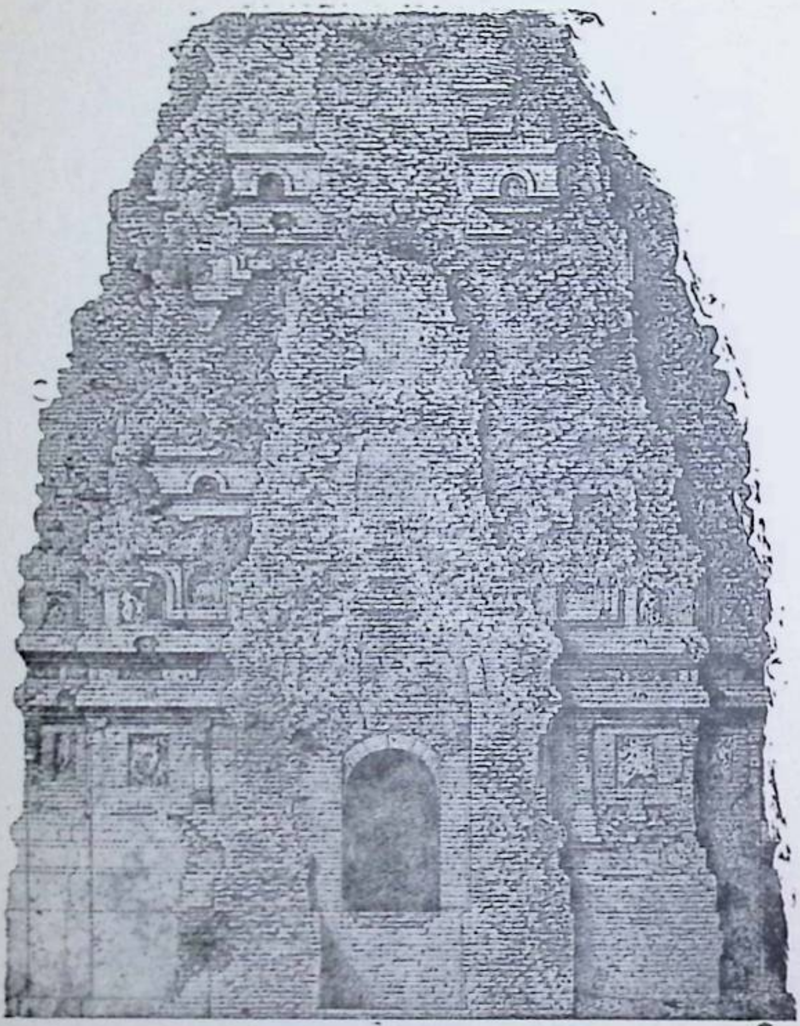
52. Back view. Vishnu Temple. Bhitargaon. After ASI.

building projects on the three sides in the middle of the walls and on the front, i.e., east with a small anteroom and the entrance steps. Ths sanctum or *garbhagriha* (15′ square) and the anteroom or porch (7′ square) are connected with a passage. The two, the inner and the outer passages, are covered with round or semicircular vaults, and the two rooms with pointed domes. Above the sanctum there is an upper chamber of less than half its size, which was perhaps originally covered by a vault of the same construction. Cunningham was locally informed that sometime in the 18th century the spire was struck by lightning when the top portion was damaged and the upper room became exposed to the sky.

The exterior, though much ruined, is the most striking feature of the Bhitargaon temple both for its architectural proportions, and profuse decoration of carved brick-work and skilfully moulded terracotta panels. The walls rise in bold moulding, their upper portions being decorated with a series of rectangular niches of terracotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. A double cornice separates the body of the shrine from the rising pyramidal Sikhara beautified with the tiers of *chaitya*-niches in superposed horizontal courses. As Percy Brown puts it, "It is in the architectural treatment of its surface that the builder has shown his skill in overcoming the disadvantages of flatness and want of shadow, inherent in structures composed of small elements such as brick. Variety has been obtained by introducing at the right intervals prominent string courses, broken by recessed planes with sunk panels all arranged in excellent relation, not only to one another, but to the scheme as a whole."[109]

Cunningham[110] and Banerji[111] place it very late, former in the 7-8th century and the latter not before the medieval period. If not as early as the 4th cent. as Vogel would put it, Percy Brown appears somewhat justified in placing its construction during the fifth century A. D.[112] In time scale the Bhitargaon temple could not be far removed from the Deogarh temple, to which it bears some general resemblance. We, however, propose to assign it to about 500 A.D. or better a decade earlier.

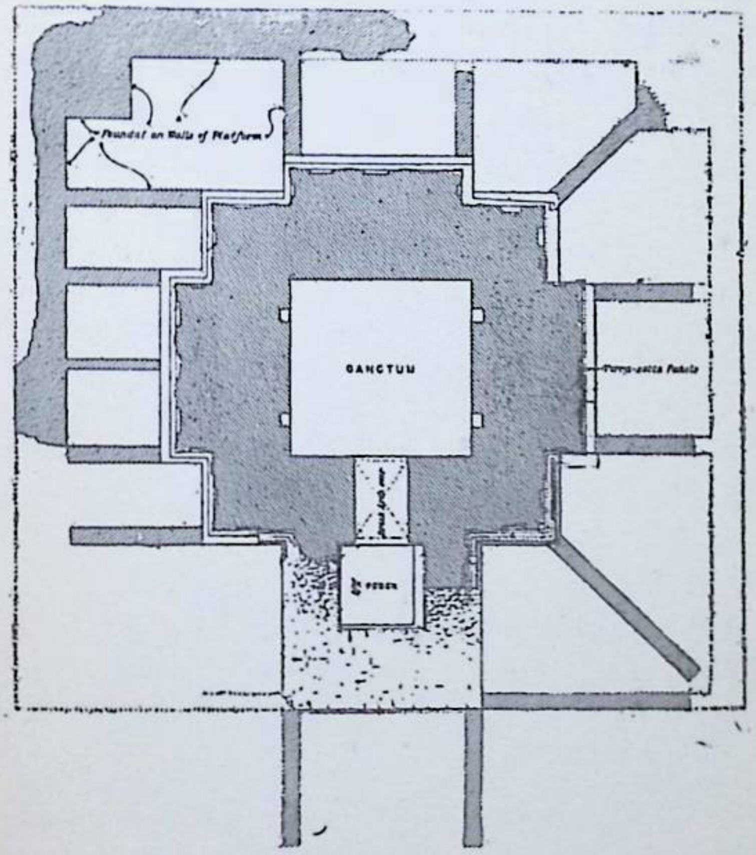
Its pyramidal spire, remarkable for its straight contour, and rising in receding chases or tiers of *chaitya-gavaksha* niches with peeping heads, most probably terminated in a wagon-shaped ridge not unlike the "Chaitya" type roof seen in several of the Pallava Rathams at Mahabalipuram and the Pratihara temple called Teli-ka-mandir at Gwalior.[113] From its general effect it is believed that the temple at Bhitargaon presumably served as the prototype for the oldest Dieng group of temples in Java of which the Chandi Bhim (about 810 A. D.) resembles it so closely.[114]



53. Front elevation. Temple at Bhitargaon. After ASI.

The most remarkable feature of the Bhitargaon temple is the employment of voussoir arch.[115] Earlier, the use of the overlapping brick courses appears to have served the purpose of spanning an open space in brick building, as in the original tower at Bodhgaya. But in the Bhitargaon instance, both the semicircular arch and the domical vault are used, being the earliest so far known, formed in a mode of construction in which the voussoirs are placed edge to edge (and not face to face) and which Cunningham called the "Hindu fashion".

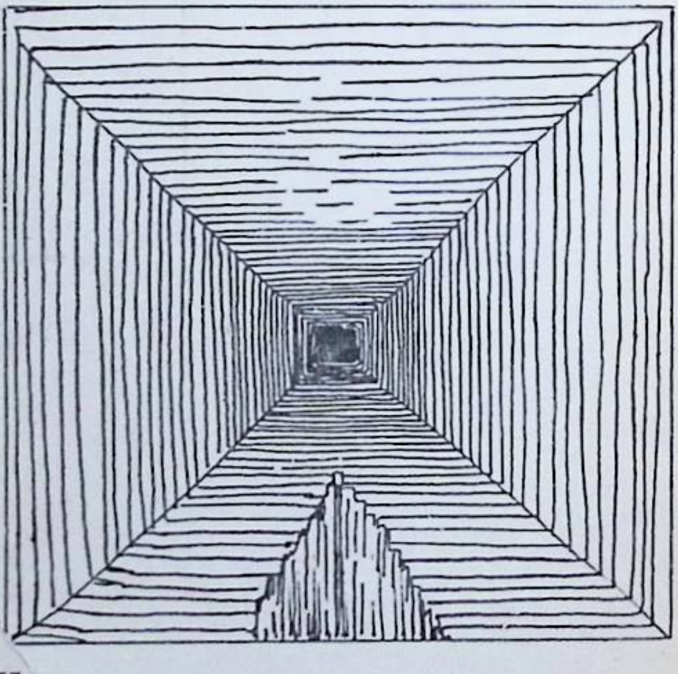
Several points which were noticed by Longhurst in connection of the Bhitargaon temple are of value. After excavating the ground around the base-line of the building it was found that the raised platform of the temple consisted of cell foundations.[116] "Another point about this temple, which does not appear to be mentioned before, is that stone beams or lintels were originally



54. Plan. Temple at Bhitargaon. After ASI.

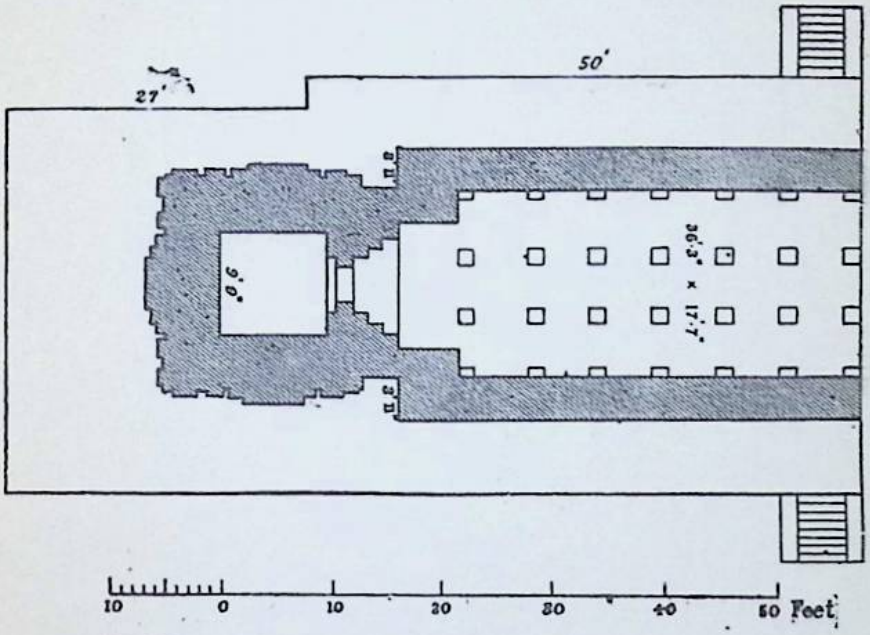
placed at the front of the existing brick arch, both inside and outside of the sanctum entrance ; the large cavities just above the doorway on both sides prove the fact conclusively, and it is probable that the doorframe of the missing porch was also of carved stone, similar to the doorframes of the brick temples in the Central Provinces.[117] On both sides of the porch Vogel did also recognise representations of Ganga and Yamuna an invariable feature of the Gupta entrance.[118]

The brick temples in the Raipur District (M. P.), important ones at Sirpur, Rajim, and Karhod, show more or less the continuation of the same architectural planning and attractive brickwork. But they appear to date in the very late sixth and the seventh centuries. There is a possibility that these temples represent the art activity of the Panduvamsis of South Kosala whose inscriptions have been found in this area.[119] The greatest ruler of the dynasty, Tivaradeva, styled as the lord of (South) Kosala, was a *paramavaishnava* and the great Vaishnava temples of Sirpur and Karhod presumably were erected in his reign.



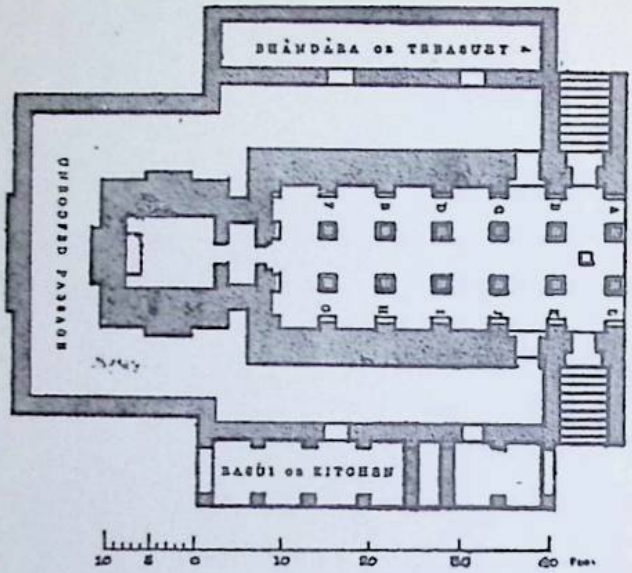
55. View of the ceiling. Lakshmana Temple. Sirpur.

The Lakshmana temple of Sirpur (675 A. D.) is the most important survival of the late Gupta Sikhara-temple, considerably evolved in its ground plan and vertical form from the point of *ratha*–projections and highly rich ornament in the brickwork. It stands, as other brick temples, on a well-built high stone terrace (77′×39′×7′) with the cell foundation. Its square sanctum (9′9″ inside) and the long entrance hall or mandapa are of brick with the exception of the stone doorframe of the sanctum entrance and the stone bases of the pillars which once supported the roof of the mandapa. However, it is believed that the mandapa did not form part of the original temple and was added at a later date.[120]



56. Plan. Lakshmana Temple. Sirpur. After Cunningham.

"A greater variegation over the plan of the Bhitargaon temple may be noticed in the addition to the number of projections on each side of the sanctum, the receding planes of the walls leading to attractive effects of light and shade."[121] Its Sikhara[122] now badly damaged, appears to be of true "Gupta" style and largely differs from that of the Bhitargaon temple in the character of its construction, though not in exterior proportions and form. There is no upper chamber and the device of curvilinear dome is not used here as at Bhitargaon. The building is roofed by receding courses of brick rising up until they meet.[123] It is closely connected in form with the Deogarh instance and represents the subsequent development on the simple technique which was employed there at Deogarh for a temple Sikhara. There appears every possibility that the top of the roof was flat and on that was placed a large brick *amalaka*.[124]



57. Plan. Rajivalochana Temple. Karhod.

The Karhod temple is similar to the Lakshmana temple in general outline, plan and decoration, though neither so large nor so elaborately embellished. Noteworthy are the stone statues of the Ganga and Yamuna forming the jambs of the doorframe remarkable for their large size and accomplished execution.[125]

Mention may be made of another temple group in brick, presumably Buddhist,[126] three examples of which are known to us from the Gupta period. The ancient tradition, archaeological and literary, has been preserved in each case of these sites and their principal buildings, viz., at Bodhgaya, Kasia and Nalanda. It goes back to the time of Asoka in case of Bodhgaya and Kasia.[127] But the dominating temple form of these buildings could not be assigned earlier than the Gupta age, and appears to date roughly about A.D. 600. They are important for the present study as they adequately illustrate the sixth-seventh century style of the Brahmanic Sikhara-temple on which pattern they were built.

Bodhgaya Temple : Renovated and repaired at several times; the present shape is the renovated Burmese form of the 11th century, but is reasonably believed to represent in its main portion substantially the original architectural design as seen by Yuan-Chwang in 647 A.D. : "Vihara" (temple) between 160 and 170 feet in height, with a base of about 20 paces (or 50 feet); built of bluish bricks, faced with plaster ; presents several tiers of niches each with a gilded statue of Buddha."[128]

Its close resemblance with the Bhitargaon temple is often pointed out by the scholars,[129] the common points of the two being the similar construction in brick, the straight edges of the tower, horizontal courses of the niches and pilasters on the four sides of the tower, the presence of an upper chamber, the technique of pointed vault or dome in the sanctuaries, and of round arch formed of regular voussoirs of wedge-shaped bricks in the passages.

Nalanda[130] : Now what remains of the lofty temple at Nalanda is its massive basement, 63 feet square. It was square in plan and built on similar principles as the Bodhgaya temple. The bricks were faced with stucco and ornamented with rows of panels containing Buddha figures. Its height, according to Huen Tsang's description of the great temple of Baladitya at Nalanda, was over 200 feet and it resembled closely both in size and magnificence the Bodhgaya temple.

Kasia : The Nirvana temple at Kasia was also a brick building. The stone statue of the dying Buddha, once enshrined in the temple has been found from excavations with a Gupta inscription incised on it.[131] From the ruins only the plan of the building could be made out, viz., 48′ × 32′ with the sanctum measuring 35′ × 15′, and walls 10′ thick. Vogel noted the fact that the early plinth of the Nirvana temple was embellished in a fashion similar to the walls of the Bhitargaon temple with carved brick mouldings and panels. At Kasia also the sunken panels must have contained Buddha figures, all of which, except one, have disappeared.[132]

Another type of shrines in the Gupta period is represented by the unusual brick structures at Ahichchhatra, Rajagriha and Padmavati (Pawaya). These buildings appear to be closely connected with, and possibly derived from the Buddhist Stupa.

The Maniyar Math monument at Rajgir (old Rajagriha)[133] was found during several excavations to represent a curious structure having successive accumulations[134] of several periods. The earliest of them shows a hollow cylindrical building of which the wall (5′ thick) had four short projections at the cardinal points ; datable to the pre-Gupta times. In the Gupta period on the original wall of the earlier structure a circular wall was further raised with similar projections* on four sides and a scheme of elaborate stucoo figures (about 10 in number) framed in niches. The outer enclosing wall seems to have been circular in the first stage, but later on took the shape of a rectangle. The projection for the entrance door in the north side of outer wall testifys that the gap between the walls, outer and inner, served as the circumambulatory passage. Subsequently again, its shape was further disturbed, but that does not concern our study here. It has been already pointed out by Prof. Saraswati[135] that the projections of the building on the four sides closely resemble the *ayaka*-projections of early Stupas of the Andhra country, and in the structure of the Gupta age, 'the cylindrical form is more the result of following the alignment of the earlier building beneath than a concious or deliberate attempt towards a new form'.

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* Here, attention may be drawn to the mention of the 'Abode of Maninaga' in the Sabhaparva in the description of the city Rajagriha by Krishna, wherein shape of the Naga shrine is stated by the word *svastika*. The reading usually accepted *(svastikasyālayaśchātra maṇināgasya chottama,* Poona Ed., II. 19.9 b) would take it to be a name of some Naga, as Vogel translates it, but nowhere else does this word occur as a Naga name. The better and perhaps the original reading from the variants given in the Critical Edition may be rescued as *svastikaśchālayaschātra...*, wherein *svastika* apparently signifies the shape of the building *(ālaya)* of Maninaga. This is surprisingly corroborated from the above archaeological evidence. The Abode of Maninaga *(Maṇināga ālaya* or the present Maniyar Math), as its original structure is revealed from the systematic excavations, appears to have been built on a plan resembling the four-armed *svastika* ; hence its *svastika* form being famous and recorded in the Sabhaparva as representing a genuine tradition.

The Nagas are said to be adorned with a *svastika* mark (Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore,* pp. 27, 83, 91, 171, where he quotes from Mbh., *Harivaṁśa, Vishṇu Purāṇa* and *Nāgānanda)*, and this may well account for the curious shape of the Maninaga or Maniyar shrine.

The other religious building of the period under review that possibly took its model from the Stupa, was brought to light from the Ahichchhatra excavation of 1940-44 the report of which has unfortunately not yet been published, except from the brief notices of its unusual form made by Ghosh and Agrawala[136] in their papers on the pottery and terracotta findings of the site, nothing more could be learnt about this important monument.

The Ahichchhatra Siva temple belonged to the terraced type, possibly having its prototype in Buddhist Stupa. It was a massive brick structure unique of its kind in northern India. On plan it looked similar to a quadrangular Stupa raised in several tiers, each terrace having circumambulatory path round a square body, the frame of which was made of cells filled with earth. It had a colossal Siva-linga on the top. A number of excellent terracotta plaques appertaining to the scenes of Siva's life, were fixed in a frieze running round the body of its upper terrace, the steps leading to which had the famous life-sized clay images of the Ganga and Yamuna.

As the temple was built on the ruins of a Kushana building its first construction may be assigned to the Gupta period. On the basis of the style, its panels are referred to a period between c. A.D. 450 and 650.[137] The full stature of the river-goddess figures puts it close in time to the Dah Parbatia example, i. e., in the 6th cent. A.D.[138]

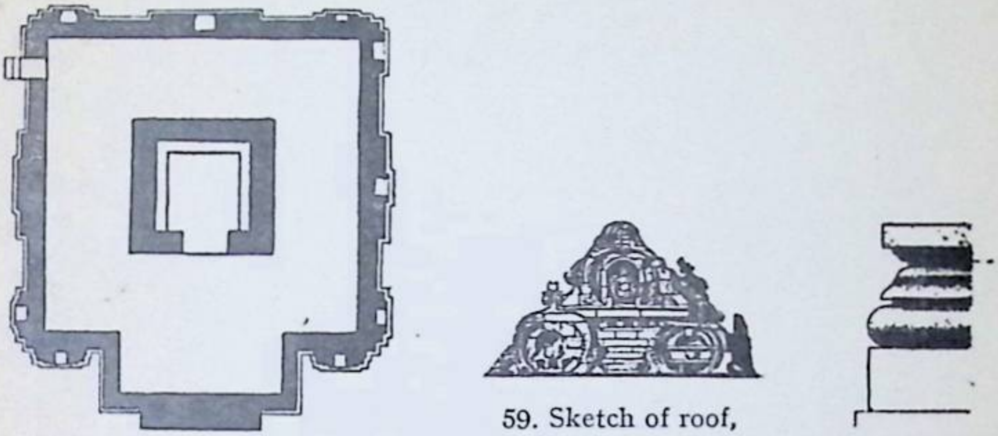
Dr V. S. Agrawala inclined to identify the Ahichchhatra temple as an example of the *Eduka* class of structure described in the *Vishnudharmottara Purana*, and as 'built in three terraces

(*bhadra-pithas*) one above the other, with four stepped approaches and surmounted on the top by a Siva-linga'.[139]

Another similar specimen of a three tiered brick structure has been excavated at Pawaya[140] (District Gwalior). The solid structure of the lowermost terrace is plain, on which are placed two surmounted terraces, diminishing by 40 feet in diameter, and studded on their exteriors with a series of ornamented plaques and pilasters lined above with a frieze of *chaitya*-arch design. It was a structure dedicated to Vishnu. As can be guessed from the remains, on the uppermost terrace there was in fact the shrine proper, the terraces thus providing paths of circumambulation, and that may well have been a small flat-roofed building of brick and timber. The use of sandy mortar is a noteworthy feature of the masonry with thin lime coating at places.

In the temple at Gop[141] in the Barda hills (District Halar, Saurashtra) a similar attempt is witnessed. It is the oldest extant temple of the area and a creation seemingly of the period when the Valabhi chiefs had become independent of the Gupta imperial rule. Thus it is of the Maitraka, rather than the Gupta, inspiration ; and dates in the mid-sixth century A.D. The Girnar inscription of the time of Skandagupta (G. E. 138= 457 A. D.) mentions a brick temple of Vishnu constructed by the orders of his governor Chakrapalita.[142] But the original building could not be traced and it is not possible to know how far the local artists got their inspiration from the mainland for their first structural temple. Therefore the Gop temple occupies a unique place in the study of the pre-medieval architecture of the region.

This temple stood on a high plinth in the centre of a courtyard (66′ square) is clear from several accounts. The main shrine itself is 10′ 9″ square inside, with walls (2 ft thick) built of carefully laid ashlar courses but without any kind of cement. The walls are perfectly plain outside, having no decoration of any kind, as more than half of their height was concealed by the surrounding hall (35 ft square) providing a covered *pradakshina-patha*. The roof of this aisle or cloister was originally supported on wooden beams the ends of which were inserted in the holes visible on each side in the cella walls below the cornice. The tower rises about 23 ft high, with a



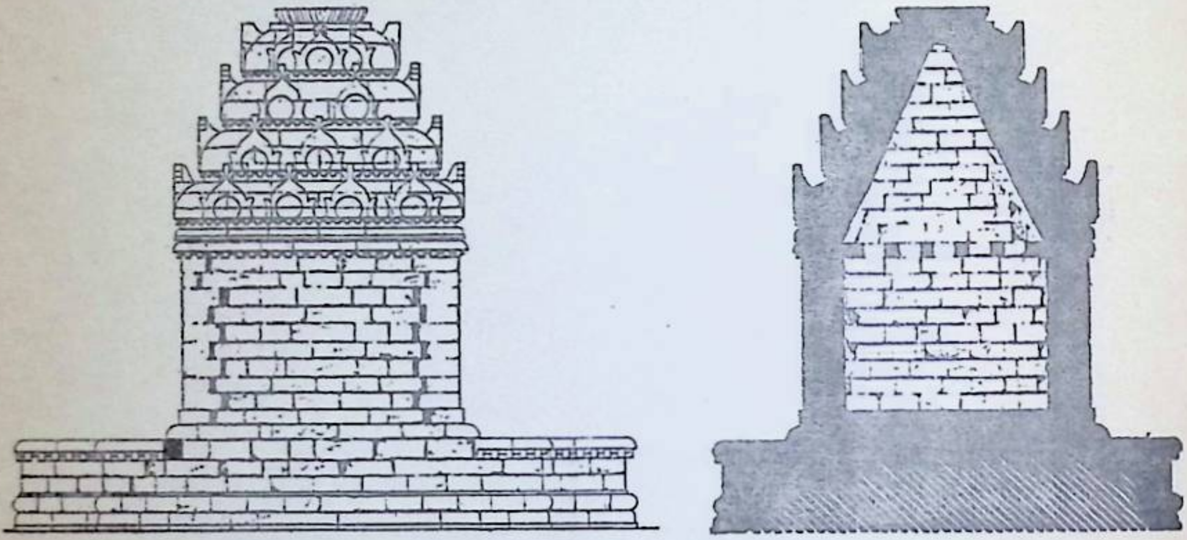
58. Plan. 59. Sketch of roof, north side. 60. Lower plinth.

Gupta Temple at Gop. After Cousens.

peculiar pent-roof, in two stepped-out distinct tiers embellished with prominent *chaitya*-window niches on the four sides. At the apex it is crowned by a domical stone which furnishes an elegant look to the whole monument.

The unusual design of its superstructure is more or less unique and somewhat problematic with regards to its origins. Its Kashmirian affinities, noticed by Cousens, have been recently doubted by several scholars. It has already been shown that the analogies cited between the two are far-fetched and of no real import.[143] On the other hand, the comparisons between the Gop temple and the early Chalukyan temples at Aihole and Pattadakal are more apparent and convincing, both having 'in their Sikharas or towers, the same stepped-out pyramidal arrangement, heavy mouldings quarter round in section, and the same comparatively plain walls'. 'The plans, too, in their simple designs, are more alike.'[144]

However, there are reasons to believe that the Gop temple represents the Gupta model in a regional garb, undoubtedly with several adventitious and individualistic forms. Not only it is of utmost importance in bearing witness to the peripheral overflow of the style of the mainland, but also as the originator of a local temple style in Kathiawar. In the centre of a terraced courtyard, it is built on a simple square plan, similar to some Gupta and allied Chalukyan shrines with a covered ambulatory, having plain cella walls, roofed by a pyramidal *northern* spire formed by a scheme of diminishing courses.



61. 'Gop-type' temple at Visavada. Elevation and Section. After Cousens.

The hollow interior of the corbelled ceiling, the tall *jangha*, height being more than the width of the shrine, the comparatively low spire with quadrantal mouldings, the typical dormer windows for religious figures—are some curious features of this temple which may be regarded as characteristic of the Gop and other Gop type subsequent temples of this area.

The progressive evolution of the Gop style is amply illustrated by more than fifty instances preserved along the coastal region in the architectural tradition of Saurashtra.[145] The type of Sikhara represented by these monuments is peculiar to this class and is seen nowhere else. Though* classed under "Nagara" variety, it remains exclusive, and was in fact supplanted by the *powerful and superior* traditions of northern Gujarat, about the ninth cent. A.D.

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* The Gop-type *sikhara* appears to be greatly influenced by the early Western Chalukyan spire which is, though in a limited sense, a similar expression of receding tiers. An almost parallel scheme of so prominent

(II)

COGNATE CENTRES

Evidence for the initial stage of another type as regards the Deccan has been revealed from Nagarjunakonda excavations. Side by side with the Buddhist monuments, a moderate beginning is seen of the shrine for Hindu deities. Though not much can be guessed of the vertical aspect, it is well proved from the evidence at hand that both rectangular and apsidal plans were utilised. Among the shrine-complexes which were exposed on the river side (i. e., Krishna), pillared *mandapa* of rectangular (or square) design appears to have been in vogue for enshrining a deity; one such *mandapa*-temple was dedicated to Sarvadeva (Siva) and another to Karttikeya.

The temple on apsidal plan was no doubt a modest building surrounded by an enclosure wall, possibly accommodating smaller auxiliary shrines. It was dedicated to Pushpabhadrasvami, as the inscription on its *dhvajastambha* informs, and an endowment was made for the perpetual maintenance of the establishment in the 16th regnal year (=A. D. 342) of Ikshvaku king Ehavala Chantamula. Besides a method of veneering the brick construction with stone, the erection of stone *dhvajastambhas* in front of the temple is a noteworthy feature.[146] Similar appears to have been the case with the Vishnu temple at Besnagar of which now antiquity goes even prior to the Sunga date.

At Chezarla (Krishna District) and Ter[147] a few specimens of early brick temples have survived. The two structural brick *chaitya*-halls at these places are alike not only in their style, construction and overall conception but also in their fate as being subsequently converted from their original Buddhist foundation to Hindu utility (about 600 A.D., of which time a stone inscription of the Ananda Gotra rulers is found at Chezarla

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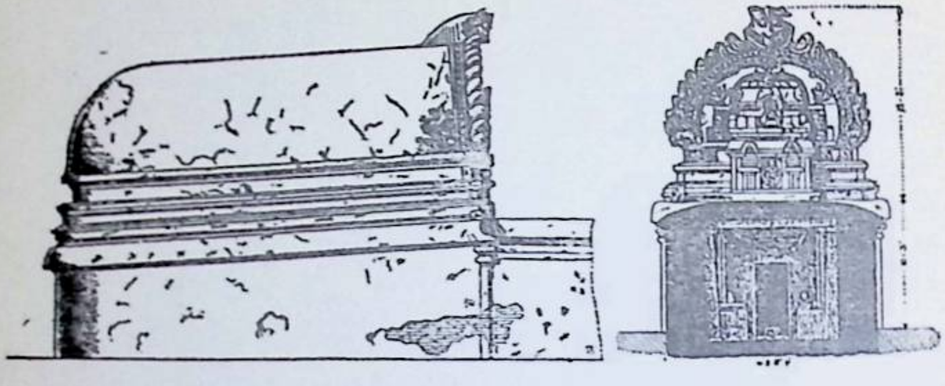
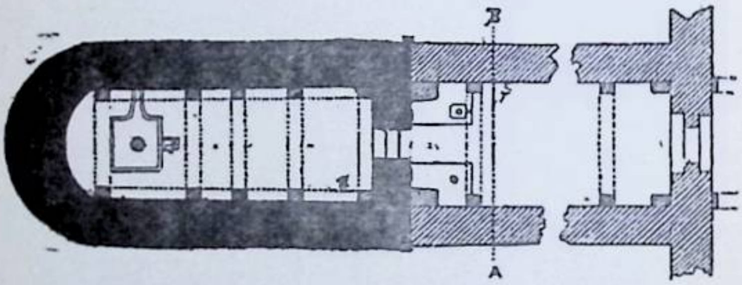
chaitya-window arches as on the Gop roof marking the steppings in a diminishing number will be seen there.

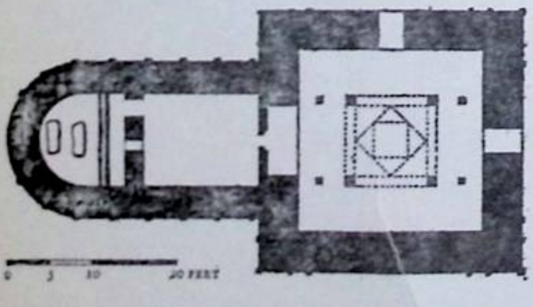
chaitya-hall[148]) when a mandapa also was added in front of them both. Noteworthy features are the heavy foundations; apsidal form; the waggon-vaulted roof rising to a ridge exteriorly round at the rear end and shaped above the entrance in a gable; roll mouldings and the use of wood for doors, beams and ceiling.





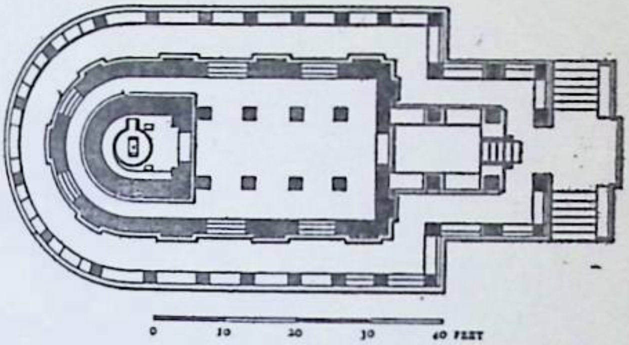
62. Elevation, section and plan. Kapotesvara Temple at Chezarla. After Fergusson.

These two buildings obviously do not represent the "True" Gupta style as well as are not originally Brahmanic construction. But they are equally important as exemplifying the early adaptation of the *chaitya*-hall type by the architect for Brahmanical temples. Actual instances of that are available not of Gupta but allied Chalukyan inspiration.



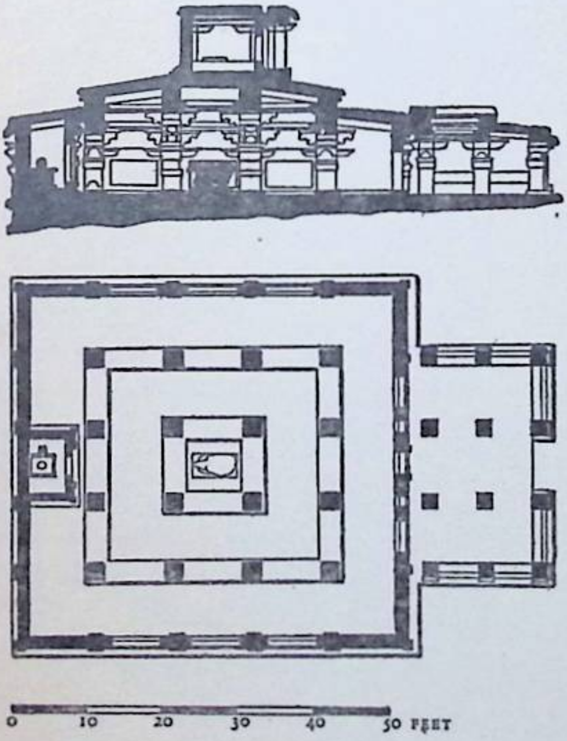
63. Plan. Temple at Ter. After Cousens.

The connected group of Chalukyan temples is formed by the Durga and the Hachchhimalligudi shrines at Aihole.[149] The Durga temple (c. 600 A.D.), though not the earliest at the site, amply illustrates how the plan and model of a Buddhist hall were accepted for Brahmana temples in this area. Along with minor adaptations the important change which was perhaps necessary in stone masonry, has been made in the massive roof that is flat in the centre and sloping on the aisles. Over its apse is now seen a tame northern Sikhara of a later date.



64. Plan. Durga Temple at Aihole. After ASI.

The Hachchhimalligudi example is also of the same kind and same date, though smaller and plain as well as of simplified rectangular design. With a late spire on the apse and being of very heavy masonry this temple is important only to show the advancement made by the architect from the original apsidal plan.

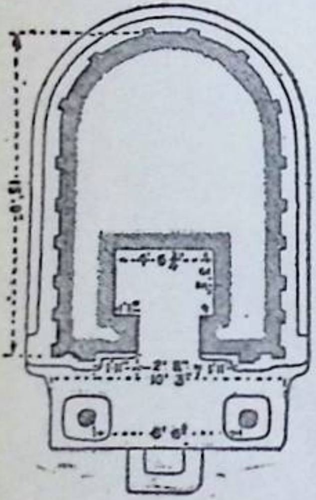


65. Plan and section. Lad Khan temple. Aihole. After ASI.

The temple of Lad Khan (about 553 A.D.) is very much impressive for its cave-like character and primitive features. But its great importance lies in its little upper chamber which associates it with other early examples having this curious feature, as at Nachna Kuthara, Bhitargaon, Bodhgaya and at Aihole itself in the temple of Meguti.

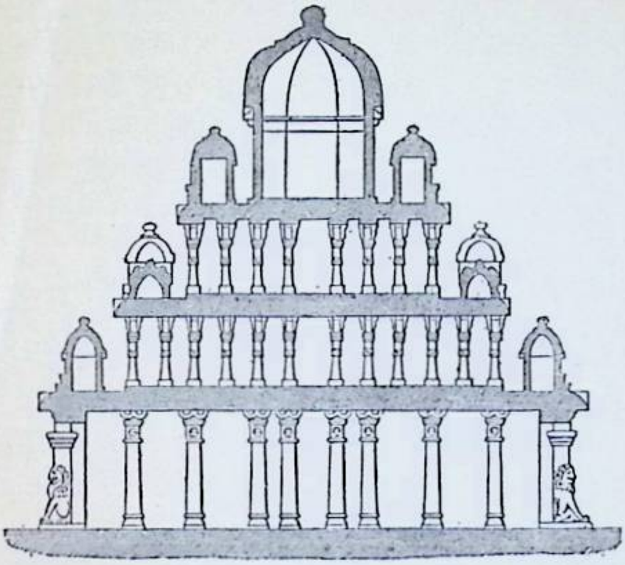
None of the examples is of early Gupta style and it may be pointed out that they have one more feature in common, i.e., cloister or covered path around the sanctum. Owing to this fact, elaboration in the body of the temple necessitated to the provision of a superstructure marking externally the position of adytum or sanctum of the temple.[150] This appeared at first as a little room plain and simple ; which also helped in some of the cases as the basis in raising a tower-like Sikhara particularly in brick temples at early stages where the load of solid Sikhara was an impossibility to be supported over the small body of the sanctum.[151]

A few words here may be said about the Pallava monoliths known as Rathams at Mahabalipuram, which, though rock-cut, represent the contemporary structural types of the Dravida country. However they are not to be connected in a direct way with the temples of the Gupta territory, but they certainly illustrate a building movement with similar purposes and undertaking. These Rathams date about 650 A.D. and, along with other allied monuments, tell a story singularly important for studying the evolution of the "Dravida" temple style.



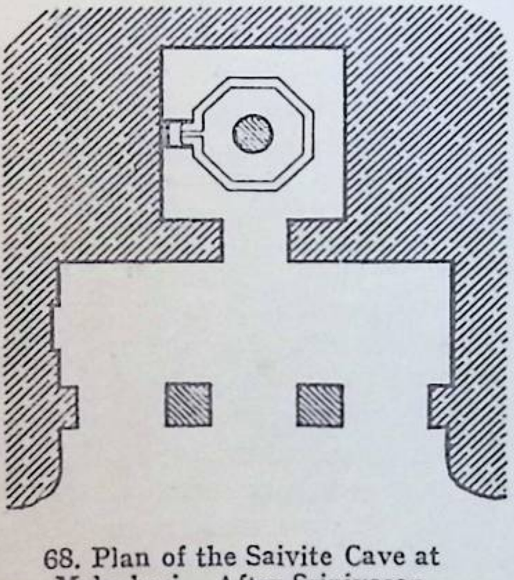
66. Plan. Sahadeva Rath. After Fergusson.

The prime interest lies in the Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha which follows (externally) the plan of an apsidal *chaitya*-hall ; it has in front a small projecting portico supported by two pillars ; and within has a small cell.[152] The Bhima, Ganesha and Dharmaraja Rathas also appear to be based on various types of *chaitya*-hall design.[153] These show a similar activity as is seen at Aihole and in the Ter and Chezarla examples.

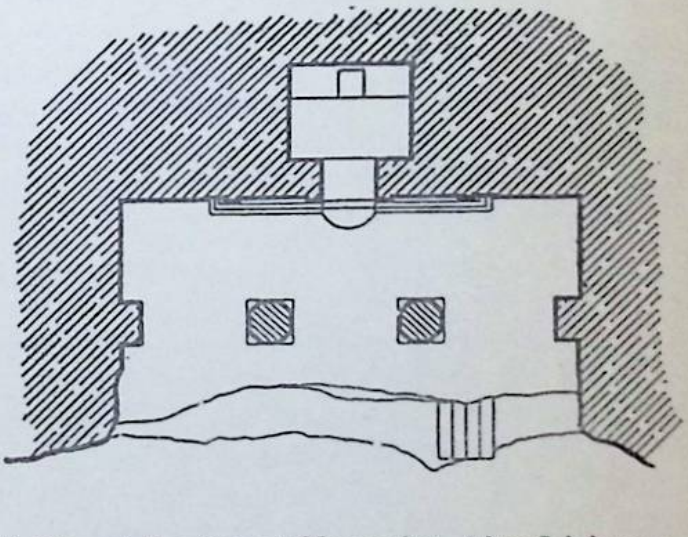


67. Diagram showing four-storeyed building. Based on Darmaraja Rath, Mahabalipuram. After Fergusson.

The five Rathas carved out of a whale-backed rock on the sandy sea-shore, are as if they were "marginal notes" by the great architects who traditionally erected religious structures 'in brick, timber, metal, mortar and plaster' [151]; and put in stone at one place for convenience of themselves and their successors lasting 'models' of diverse temple types vouge in the period. As cut-out examples, their exterior was of greater significance for the sculptor-architect. In fact, externally the square and oblong Rathas represent the *first* forms of Dravidian Vimanas which were subsequently copied and elaborated for centuries.



68. Plan of the Saivite Cave at Melacheri. After Srinivasan.



69. Plan of the Cave at Mamandur. After Srinivasan.

With reference to the origin of temple plan attention may be drawn to several of the early cave Mandapams of the Pallavas, e.g., at Mandagappattu, Mamandur, Melacheri, Kuranganilmuttan, Mahabalipuram and others[155] which show a row of shrine-cells excavated inside the back wall of the mandapa in a fashion similar to the cells of a Buddhist *vihara*-cave. In the Rathas, however, the main ground building which was of actual utility, appears to have been conceived internally as a pillared mandapa, but nothing could be concluded as certain, as for unknown reasons these Rathas were never finished off.[156] The roof rose in gradually receding, two or several, storeys which, now no more for residential purposes, were solid decorations, greatly compressed in height and with the string of cells or *salas* running all round their sides. Each storey was particularly marked by a roll cornice ornamented with *chaitya*-arches and series of miniature cell shrines as motif and the highest storey having wagon-top roof with gable ends and *stupis* on the ridge.*

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* Prof. S.K. Saraswati has seen an obvious connection (*Classical Age*, p.512) between the Arjuna and Dharmaraja Rathas and the storeyed temple of Gupta period. However, there could be no comparison between the two groups. While the small upper chamber in some of the Gupta temples has altogether a different origin and purpose, and appears to have served in some cases as the "Base" for the hoisting height of Gupta spire, the 'storeyed' conception of these Rathas or a Dravida *Vimana* has to relate another story, as explained by Percy Brown.

Percy Brown calls these Rathas as of, '*vihara* or monastery type'. He has explained their origin in quite a convincing way as follows: "In shape and appearance these *vihara* Rathas seem to have been evolved out of a building composed of cells arranged around a square courtyard, the inner court being afterwards covered in with a flat roof on pillars. In the course of time, as the community of monks occupying the monastery increased another storey was added,and finally, still another, the whole structure eventually being finished off with a kind of domical roof. In the rock-cut interpretation of this composition the cells have lost their original character and intention, and become modified into ornamental turrets, while other substantial alterations have been effected in order to make it suitable for its new purpose."

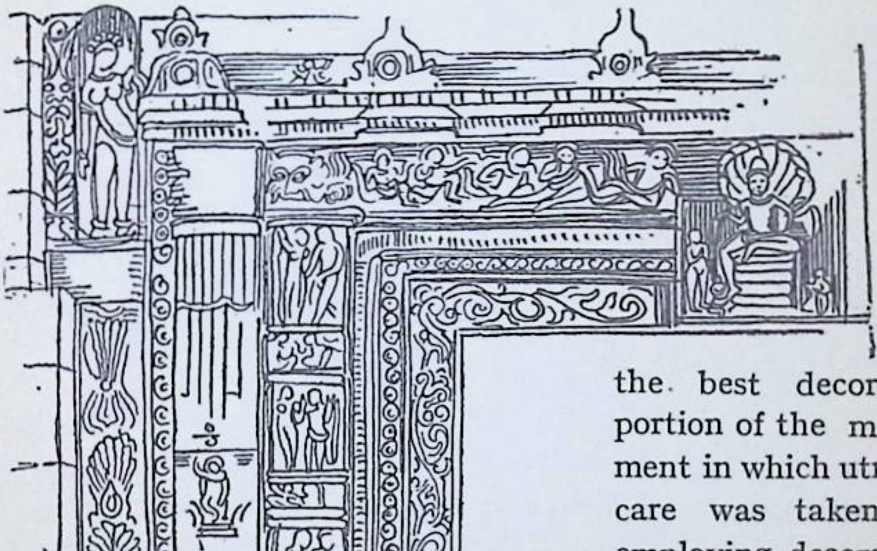
●

CHAPTER III

GUPTA TEMPLE DOORFRAME, PILLARS AND SCULPTURE

(I)

The stone doorframes of the Gupta temples show some distinct features typical of the style. The doorway served as the best decorated portion of the monument in which utmost care was taken in employing decorative symbols and motifs, both for beauty and auspiciousness. As V.S. Agrawala puts it, "Indeed with the emergence of the flat-roofed small shrines in the early Gupta period (4th century A.D.), the framework of the entrance to the temple received special attention and various elements of decoration were introduced to impart beauty, grace and



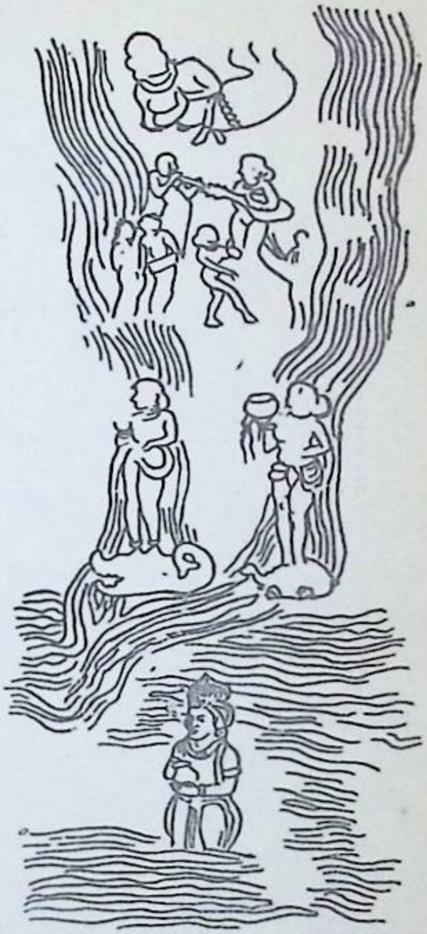
70. From Deogarh.

life to the architectural portion leading to the deity in the shrine. No doubt, the various elements of decoration of the doorways of Gupta temples, namely, the projecting image in the centre of the lintel *(dvara-lalata-bimba)*, attendant figures *(pratihari)* occupying the lower one-fourth portion of the jamb, auspicious birds on wing *(mangalya vihaga)*, usually flying geese, auspicious tree *(Srivriksha)*, stylised Svastika, Full Vase *(purna-kalasa)*, amorous couples *(mithunas)*, foliated scrolls (*patralata*), rosettes (*phullavali*), dwarfish figures (*pramathas*), and last but not the least figures of the Ganga and Yamuna standing on their vehicles, have invested these architectural specimens with exquisite richness and delightful form, seldom equalled by anything else in Indian art".[157]

These details are furnished in varying degrees by the extant temple doorways at Tigowa, Deogarh, Dah Parbatia, Nachna Kuthara and Bhumra. Usually the two door-jambs (*dvara-sakha*) are divided in four or five bands or vertical sections each with an elaborate scheme of ornamentation. It agrees with the injunction made by Varahamihira in the *Brihat Samhita*[158]: "One-quarter of the door-jamb is occupied by Pratihari figures. The rest of decorations consists of auspicious birds, Srivriksha, Svastika, Purna-ghata, Mithuna, foliated scroll and dwarfish figures."

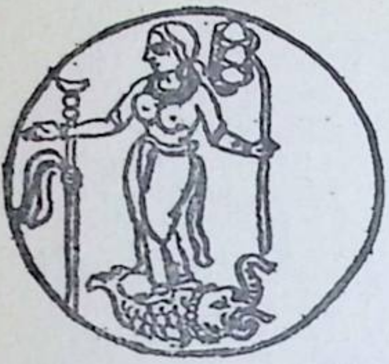
It may be said that the river-goddess figures are not mentioned by Varahamihira in the decorative details of the jambs as in fact they were shown in his period (later half of the 5th cent.) at the level of the lintel or even above it, and not as the lower part of the jamb which according to Cunningham is a later feature.[159]

The occurrence of Ganga and Yamuna in human form on the entrance doorframe of the shrine is not available in the early or late Kushana art. It is also conspicuous by its absence in the Sanchi temple which has generally been regarded as the earliest Gupta temple. As noted earlier, the definite evidence of the Ganga-Yamuna figures in connection of a religious building is known from the Cave-shrines at Udaigiri, dated to the reign of Chandragupta II (376-413 A. D.). In the scene flanking the colossal Mahavaraha figure, the two river-goddesses are for the first time conceived in human form standing on their respective vehicles. The scene has been identified as showing the 'descent of Ganga and Yamuna on earth to the accompaniment of celestial music and universal rejoicing'.[160] The two rivers are here represented in the form of two mighty streams as well as the goddesses in human form, who descend from the Himalayas, with their confluence at Prayaga then their waters entering the ocean at Gangasagar. The visual representation of Madhyadesa obviously being intended here, as pointed out by V.S. Agrawala,[161] by the twin river-goddesses which not only geographically marked out the main territory of the rising Gupta power, but whose fertility and prosperity indeed depended on them. Thus very appropriately the rivers Ganga and Yamuna were adopted as the symbols *par excellence* of the Madhyadesa which formed the heart of the Gupta empire. It was acheived through some conscious effort on the part of its designer, probably Chandragupta II himself. At Udaigiri his own ideology seems to have been portrayed in the form of Mahavaraha uplifting the earth, and the reliefs flanking the scene. The fact that Chandragupta was the innovator of the river-goddess figures on the upper corners of the Gupta temple entrance at first set at Udaigiri is further strengthened by the available evidence. The repetition of the "Descent" scene on both the right and left sides of



71. Descent of Ganga and Yamuna and depiction of Madhyadesa. Varaha Cave. Udaigiri.

the Boar figure, was perhaps intended to emphasise the significance of the scene and might be regarded as the beginning of the motif. As already observed, it was at Udaigiri that the Vidisa craftsmen experimented on the structural model for a Hindu shrine beginning with the traditions of rock-cut architecture. The goddess figures shown on the doorframes of Cave 6 (G. E. 82=A. D. 400-01) and Cave 19 have two crocodiles as their vehicle, and the distinctive feature of their separate iconography (as crocodile-mounting and tortoise-mounting figures) has not yet been introduced.



72. Ganga on crocodile. From a coin of Kumaragupta.

Percy Brown has seen in the Ganga and Yamuna figures 'an adaptation of the Yakshini motif which festoons the projecting architrave to the Buddhist torana but transmuted in the Gupta temple to suit the Brahmanical texts'.[162] Such *salabhanjika* figures as brackets to the torana gate can very well be illustrated from Sanchi, Mathura and Amaravati monuments of the Sunga and Andhra period. This may well account for the position of the two river-goddesses occupying upper corners of the jambs. But here may be mentioned the tradition in which the tutelary divinities regarded as attending on some higher god or Buddha are seen standing on front doors of the *chaitya-ghara* or shrine dedicated to the god or Buddha. At Bharhut in many cases two female deities or "Yakshinis" may be seen standing before the Bodhighara entrance. The most suitable instance of a Naga shrine comes from the Amaravati sculpture where two women flank the Naga slab. They are, in fact, shown with conspicuous makara figures under their feet. Similar *makara-vahana* figures depicted on two sides of a panel are frequently noticed in Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda reliefs.[163]

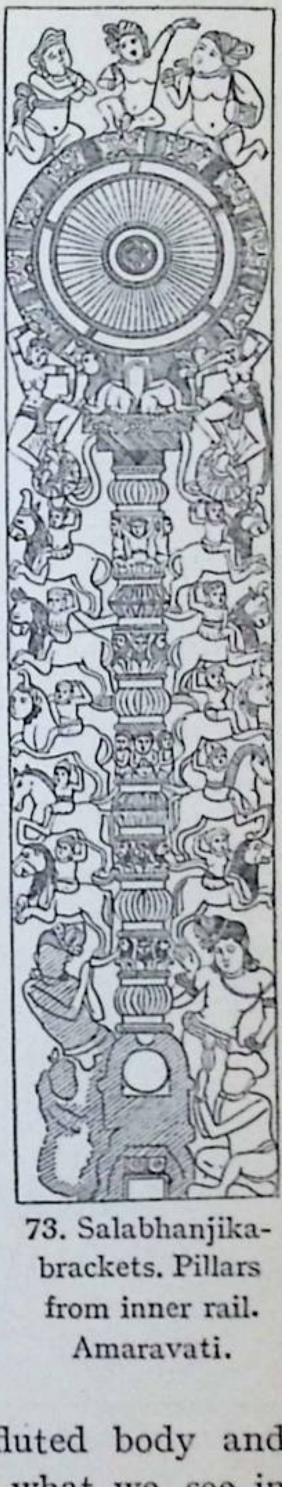
II

PILLARS

The facade of the Gupta temple, as pointed out by Percy

Brown, 'owes its character almost entirely to the design of its pillars, which' besides forming the main elements of its frontage are also fully representative of what may be termed the early Gupta "order". Each consists of (a) a massive abacus surmounted by a device of lions, (b) a capital resembling a broad conventional vase, (c) a short shaft of many sides, and (d) a plain square pedestal. A glance will show that in spite of the greatly diminished height this form of pillar is a direct descendant of the Vishnu column at Besnagar of almost five centuries earlier, and the lion motif itself is a link with the still older monoliths of Asoka.'[164]

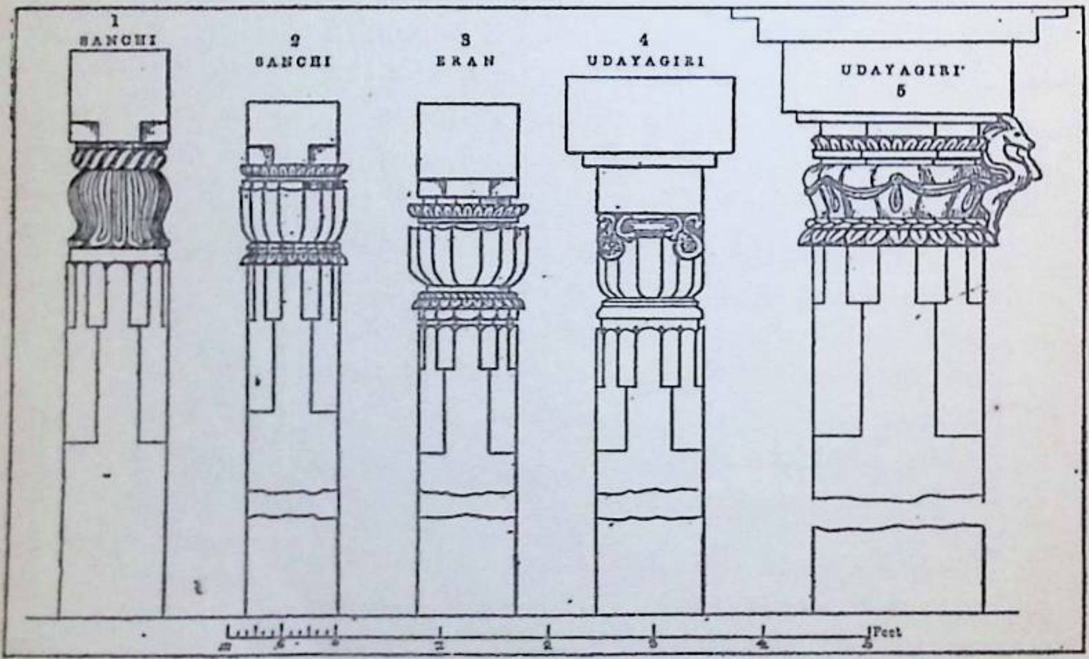
With the exception of the Darra temple which has a pillared sanctum, all of the early specimens of Gupta portico pillars, at Sanchi, Udaigiri, Tigowa and Eran, represent a definite order and are similar in appearance. Of the Darra temple, the square pillars surmounted by square projecting capitals are, however, in the tradition of the railing pillars round the Stupas, marked with the same massive handling of stone and a decorative scheme of foliate designs. In fact, a similar impression is produced by the eight pillars disposed around the pillared Garbhagriha, two on each of the four sides, as if in a row, forming a continuous path of circumambulation.



73. Salabhanjika-brackets. Pillars from inner rail. Amaravati.

The pillars of the Sanchi temple in their *bell* capitals display no turn-overs below the square part of the abacus,[165] though they are shaped like a conventionalised vase with fluted body and corded neck. It is not much different from what we see in the Makara Pillar at Besnagar, or still earlier in the Garuda Pillar at the same site.

The four entrance pillars of the Tigowa temple are exactly alike and their square and massive capitals show two couchant lions with a conventionalised tree between them. According to Cunningham, "the couchant lions, with the tree between them, are the direct descendants of the couchant animals on the capitals of the Asoka architecture, as seen in the sculptures of Bodhgaya and Bharhut."[166] The lower capitals are adorned on each face with oval bosses filled by a human or lion's head. The plainness of the lowest square part of the shaft is relieved by a highly ornamented octagonal portion, followed by another with sixteen sides and above which it becomes circular supporting the square capital. This portion has been regarded by Cunningham 'to form one of the most characteristic features of the Gupta pillars'. "In the oldest example at Sanchi we see the simple reeded bell capital of the Asoka pillars. But in all the later specimens at Udaigiri, Eran and Tigowa the bell has become fluted, and its lower part, or mouth, has been quite separated from the upper swell by a different style of ornamentation. From each corner, also of the square portion of the upper shaft, a small foliated turn-over hangs gracefully down....



74. Evolution of Gupta order. Pillars from various temples. After Cunningham.

In a single example in one of the Udayagiri caves a rampant animal takes the place of the turn-over. The effect is not unpleasing; although the upward spring of the animals is in direct opposition to the downward trail of the drooping turn-over."[167]

The pillars of the early rock-hewn temple at Udaigiri are of a simpler design when compared to those at Tigowa. Though ponderous in proportions, they are adequately in keeping with the rock ruggedness around.[168]

The four pillars of the Narasimha temple portico at Eran are also in early Gupta style, with a large square abacus, of twice the breadth of the shaft surmounted by two lions sitting back to back with a tree between. The lower part of the shaft is plain, but the upper half is highly decorated, in the form of the characteristic *purnaghata* with foliated turn-overs.[169]

The position of the two large pillars found from the ruins at Deogarh is however doubtful. They are over nine feet in height and might have supported the roof-projection of the front side. These are square in section and tapering towards the top. A highly evolved scheme of decoration at the base, the middle and the top of the shaft and the capital may be observed. Three-quarter circular sunk medallions on all the four sides at the upper portion of the shaft contain artistic relief work. Above is seen the characteristic vase with upturned foliage at the corners. Exactly similar in design are the *rathika-bimba* pilasters on the three side walls.[170]

In most of the evolved cases the pillars or pilasters of the period are shown emerging from the mouth of the squat *purnaghata*.

The square pillars from the dilapidated sites of early Gupta temples at Bilsar[171] and Gadhwa[172] show a tall guardian figure on each side of the entrance and are ornamented with deeply cut floral designs on the sides, and evidently are removed in date by a century from the original Gupta structure of which they formed perhaps the subsequently added Torana gate.

The two round pillars from Gadhwa seem to be part of the Gupta temple there of the time of Kumaragupta. The shaft is highly decorated with octagonal and square sections with floral designs and a half-lotus medallion in the middle. The stunted "vase" capital with overflown turn-overs supports the two addorsed lion figures. But instead of the tree between them there is a human figure seated.[173]

III

SCULPTURE

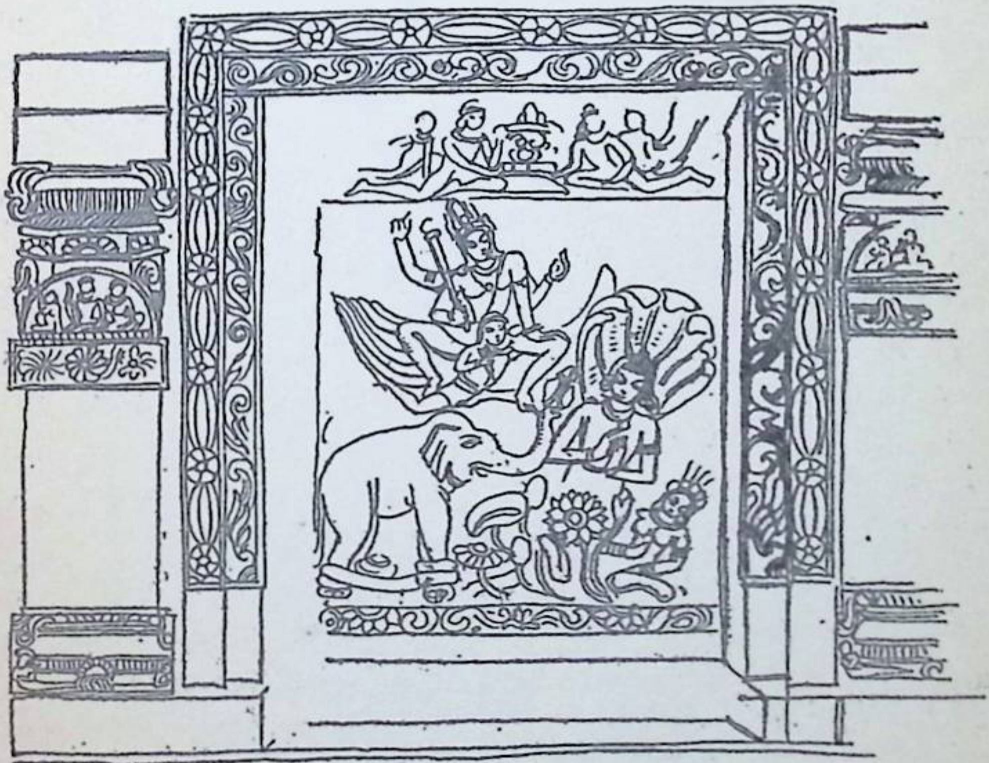
The Gupta temple from the very beginning tended to be a building with cult images and various plastic and decorative forms. Much of the glory attached in modern times to the Gupta age and art is due to its classic sculpture.[174] In the temple sculpture of this period the Silpin seems to have utilised his skill in the true spirit of a renaissance with not only assimilating best of the earlier traditions but also fully aware of the new aesthetic standards. Sculptural wealth from the Gupta temples stands in contrast to their architectural simplicity and unpretentious size. Apart from the idol installed in the cella, the doorway-frame and pillar capitals of the portico, there were *rathika*-panels and a rich mass of bas-reliefs which adorned the terraced basement.

The three *rathika*-niches on the exterior of the Deogarh sanctum show three legends from Vishnu's mythology—the Seshasayi, Gajendramoksha and the Penance of Nara-Narayana—which besides their iconographic details, are considered artistically of exceptional value for their exquisite and dignified carving.

These panels and the doorframe of the temple may not be removed in time from the Varaha Cave sculptures at Udaigiri datable to the reign of Chandragupta II (337-413). It will also be interesting to compare the almost life-size Varaha-Vishnu image from a niche of the Bhitargaon brick-temple[175] with the colossal image of the same god at Udaigiri. Both are strikingly similar in detail. The god stands, in both the cases, firmly as a powerful figure with his left foot on the serpent Sesha, the right hand akimbo and the left resting on the knee, 'conspicuous garland looped round the arms and the body', and his boar snout uplifting on one of his tusks the tiny figure of Prithivi.

In spite of the difference in medium, treatment and modelling of the two figures, they are so alike that there could not be the remoteness of more than a generation between the two.

The Ekamukha Sivalinga enshrined in the sanctum of the "Bina Cave" at Udaigiri[176] presents an early beginning of the Gupta idiom. But well-defined features of the style in true Gupta expression and aesthetic eminence may be seen in the Mukhalingas from Uchahara[177] and Khoh. It is believed that at one time these were installed inside the temple sancta at both the places. The date of these supposed buildings could be guessed and from the stylistic assessment the two Sivalingas should be regarded to have been carved in the last quarter of the fourth or the first quarter of the fifth century



75. Gajendramoksha. Niche on wall of the Vishnu temple, Deogarh.

when Gupta art was at its best.[178] This fact is still apparent by comparing them with the one at Udaigiri, which latter should date to c. 400 A. D.

The Khoh Lingam was rightly eulogised by R. D. Banerji as 'undoubtedly one of the best specimens of portraiture ever discovered amongst specimens of Gupta art'.[179] In his opinion, 'it is certainly far superior in this respect to the gigantic Ekamukha Linga discovered in the interior of the temple at Bhumra'. The Bhumra example[180] may show a great elaboration in the ornament, with a jewelled crown on the matted locks, a *manimala* round the forehead, ear-rings, a pearl-necklace and a broad torque round the neck. But the execution of the face is not at all impressive and shows the art in its decline ; with pronounced emphasis on the colossal size and exaggerated ornamentation.

A study of the frolicsome Gana figures from the various temple sites of this period is equally profitable. On the early doorframe they are represented in the form of *pramatha-sakha*, as it is termed by Varaha Mihira[181] ; e. g. at Deogarh, Gadhwa and Dah Parbatia. They are seen as forming the lower part or source of a meandering creeper and are often intertwined with its tendrils. The occurrence of such dwarfish figures accommodated between the loops of a creeper-garland may go back to the Sunga and Satavahana art. Clinging here and there to the foliated scroll rising from the straight stem, they form a charming ornament on Gupta jambs and pilasters.

Besides the varied use of other floral designs, employment of deep and finely cut scroll itself is ubiquitous, both in stone and in moulded bricks. *Patravali* or *Patralata* has been regarded a conspicuous pattern of Gupta decoration, with infinite possibilities of composition and in some cases with a tendency towards arabesque.[182]

●

CHAPTER IV

FURTHER ESTIMATE OF THE ARCHITECTURE

(I)

Several other observations made by Cunningham[183] should be noted here as characteristic to the Gupta temple architecture, but they have only a limited application.

(1) The slight deviation in plan from the cardinal points.

[He says : Out of eight examples, I find that five have an average deviation of 13° from the true meridian. As the amount of variation, according to my notes, is limited to 5° in the two extreme cases, I think it *possible* that it may have been an intentional deviation of one *nakshatra*, or lunar mansion amounting to 13° 20. But this is mere guess ; and the near agreement in the amount may be due simply to the small number of examples which have yet been found.] (ASR., IX, p. 44)

(2) The prolongation of the lintel of the entrance door far beyond the jambs on each side, is common to all examples. This peculiarity was no doubt, in his opinion, derived from the original doorframe of wood, in which the prolongation of the lintel is a matter of necessity.

(3) Similarly, the continuation of the architrave of the portico pillars all round the building, as a lower cornice or moulding, is found in all the examples of the Gupta style.

(4) The middle intercolumniation of the portico is wider than those on either side.

(5) The ornamental bosses on the capitals and friezes of chaitya-arches with projecting horns.

(6) The outer faces of the walls are carved in imitation of the older rock-work.

(II)

Apart from the rock-cut series at Udaigiri, most of the early Gupta temples are built of dry stone masonry. Both inside and outside, the masonry of Gupta shrines is plain ashlar. But no cementing material whatever is found used in the construction. The stone blocks are finely cut to smooth surfaces and piled up one above the other, kept in position by their precise even facing, and relatively large size. The use of dry masonry persisted, as pointed out by Stella Kramrisch, in the Hindu temple : Gupta temples in Central India, early Chalukya temples in the Deccan, early Chola temples in South India, and the medieval temples of Gujarat and Orissa.[184]

However, when needed for jointing the stone work, iron dowels were used to keep the immense blocks together, as we see at Deogarh. Though relatively large-sized stone blocks were employed but the careful workmanship in their dressing and levelling is characteristic of the Gupta architecture. Thus the plain and unadorned walls of the temple were usually built up only by a few courses of large-sized stones laid without mortar.

The terracotta bricks also formed a material for building a temple, the earliest preserved example being the Gupta temple at Bhitargaon. The existence of a large number of brick monuments of the period is evidenced by the numerous terracotta friezes and moulded bricks found in Central India, U. P., Bihar, Bengal, Assam and also in the Panjab and Sindh. But only a few brick structures are traceable to their actual architectural forms of the Gupta period ; those at Bhitargaon, Ahichchhatra, Padmavati, Ter, Chezarla, Bodhgaya, Rajgir, Kasia, Nalanda, Gadhwa, Bilsar and Dah Parbatia ; also those at Sirpur, Rajim, and Karhod in the same tradition but somewhat later in date.

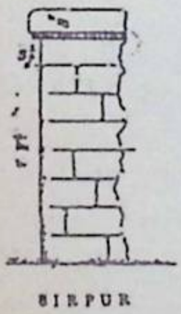
The difficulties of bridging over spaces, as in the case of roofs, doorways and other openings etc., were overcome to some extent by the Indian builder at first by employing very large bricks. But in certain cases wood was used for doors, windows and ceilings, and also stone for pillars and similar purposes. Stone pillars are introduced as early as the Bhitargaon temple. The Lakshmana temple at Sirpur has a stone doorframe, and similarly in the two Brahmanical shrines at Ter we see the use of wooden beams and doorframes.

The earliest occurrence of voussoir arch in India is known in the Bhitargaon temple, and also of the Nagara Sikhara in brick. The Sikhara in brick-work from its very beginning as seen at Bhitargaon is provided with an internal hollow chamber above the flat roof of the sanctum, a device which was introduced with a view to lessen the weight of the superstructure. This feature, as essential part of the brick spire is seen also in the Mahabodhi temple at Bodhgaya and the later temples at Konch, Parauli etc.[185]

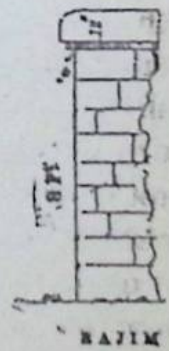
(III)

In plan, square is the basic form of Gupta architecture. The raised terraces of all of the Gupta temples at Deogarh, Bhitargaon, Nachna Kuthara and Sirpur are found built on a cell foundation.[186]

The lowest visible part in the body of the Gupta temple is its high plinth or upraised terrace, spacious enough to accommodate an open path of circumambulation round the main shrine. As the substructure of the temple it was decorated with a number of horizontal mouldings, as we see at Deogarh and Bhumra. The platform or *vedi* was the first architectural element which marked the sacred site.[187] Its form in the Gupta period, according to Dr V.S. Agrawala, was apparently inspired by the set-up of Buddhist Stupas of which a cylindrical base and raised terrace had become in the Gupta period a constant feature. It was set up on a sufficiently raised foundation square in section and approached by one or four axial steps on the four sides.[188]



76, Plinth,



77. Plinth.

Then it was constructed of smaller stone slabs joined together by overlapping grooves. To drain out the collected rain water, which was the most damaging natural element to the monument, the architect was content at first by making provision for outlets. But next to it, he not only made the roof heavier, also superimposed one or two relatively narrower stone slabs placed one on the top of the other—thus providing a somewhat conical form to drain the rain water and not allowing it to collect on the roof. It provided at once in the masonry work an arrangement of stratified and diminishing courses of stone bricks as we notice it in the Deogarh spire. It appeared as a heavy and 'sturdy' structure in the form of a stepped out pyramid gaining more height and durability. The squatness of the Sikhara also indicates the same origin. In effect, as pointed out by Vats, it was advancing not so much towards the tall and curvilinear fabric of the Indo-Aryan or Nagara Sikhara. It may be suggested here that this for all possibilities served as the ancestor both for the "curvilinear" (i. e., Nagara) and "stepped out" (i. e., Dravida) styles.*

Even geographically the earlier group of temples in Northern India may be seen testifying to the tendencies and definitions which gave birth to different regional styles of the Nagara temple itself with their own experimentation and distinct ramifications. The Nagara style which prevailed, according to the Silpa texts, in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas is conveniently divisible in at least four sub-varieties with reference to separate provinces, viz., *I*. Central India, *II*. Rajasthan, *III*. Gujarat and Saurashtra, and *IV*. Magadha and Orissa (including South Kosala). The fifth may be classed to the temple activity in the Deccan and the sixth to the temples in Kashmir and the north-west.

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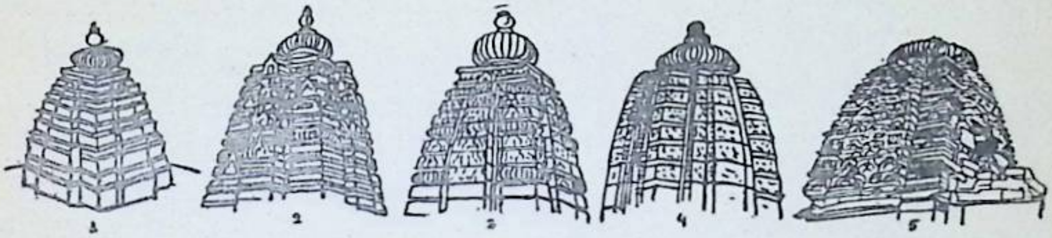
* For the northern style, in the Gupta temples of Deogarh and Bhitargaon, a definite beginning is made towards the *ratha*-projections in the simple square or rectangular plan and their carrying upwards in elevational aspect to the top of the Sikhara. When the projections increased in number — in

'The post-Gupta development, as expressed in the west and central region, was undeniably a rich aftermath of the intellectual regime of the imperial Guptas, the earlier manifestation signifying that first creative impulse heralds the birth of a new era, the later, under the steadying influence of time, produc-



84. Development of the Nagara Sikhara (c. 5th cent.—7th cent.)
Examples from 1. Deogarh (a bit conjectural), 2 Aihole,
3. Pattadakal, 4. Osia 5. Roda.

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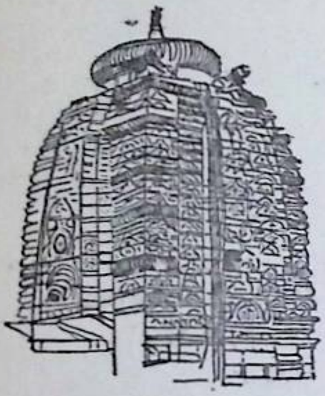
post-Gupta temples—emphasis is seen on vertical lines in exaltation of the re-entrant angles of the variegated plan and that are exaggerated in the linear contour of the Sikhara. Corrugations on the *amalaka*-stone were also cut with the intention to harmonise with the projecting corners. At a later juncture, a further multiplication in offsets and projections evolved the almost circular form ; and the Sikhara basically tapered upwards, hence the curviform of northern style.

Evolution of the Dravidian style from the stepped Gupta Sikhara was perhaps easier, with emphasis on different parts and details. Not much interest was shown in an increase of projections on the plan and the Dravidian plan remained rectangular or with hardly any pronounced elaboration of recessed projections. The multiple storey conception *(bahubhumika)*, as experimented out at Aihole and in the monoliths of Mahabalipuram, gave an altogether different connotation to the receding courses of the Gupta Sikhara. The diminishing tiers were marked by miniature designs of the temple form at every stage of the height, and later on covered with a wealth of sculpture. Covered path or cloister around the sanctum—which made its beginning in the Gupta shrines and early temples at Aihole was so characteristically adopted in the Dravidian temple. In some cases it took the form of a spacious gallery around the sanctum. On the contrary in the development of Northern temple, not much serious attention was paid to it and due to the multiple projections in the form of the Garbhagriha it was altogether rejected in most of the cases and never formed a characteristic of the style.

ing the exquisite second flowering, as exemplified by the remains at Osia, Eran and elsewhere.' (P. Brown)[189]. With reference to Central India, on the one hand, the style was extended further through the temples at Eran, Nachna Kuthara (Mahadeva temple) and some of the unknown instances of the pre-medieval period. Only logical emergence of the Sikhara from a rudimentary superstructure will be seen, along with other architectural features in these examples. Further development through various stages can be illustrated in the subsequent period as *Triratha* (e.g. at Neresar, Amrol and Batesar) and *Pancharatha* plan and Sikhara (e.g. at Nachna Kuthara, Badoh, Gyaraspur)[190]. The earliest group of shrines at Khajuraho (c. 850-900 A.D.) as well should be considered in continuation.



85. Sikhara. Parasuramesvara Temple. Bhubaneshwar.

The use of angle-*amalakas* and the continuation of the variegated plan along the vertical axis—the two invariable features of the Nagara style—are traceable to the Deogarh and Bhitargaon temples. The Mahadeva temple consists of a square *Pancharatha* sanctum roofed by a massive Sikhara with a slight convex curvature in its rising body. The lineaments of the *Pancharatha* plan are taken up in elevation to the Sikhara, veneered by *chaitya-gavakshas* and rising in six storeys each marked by angle-*amalakas* (properly called *bhumi-amalakas)* and other features. Though somewhat removed in distance similar is the Lakshmana temple Sikhara showing at least four storeys demarcated by angle-*amalakas* and crowned on the summit, which is now lost, by a larger *amalaka.*

In plan the constricted cloister round the sanctum of medieval temples in Central India gave definition to the *Sandhara* (with gallery) and *Nirandhara* (without gallery) varieties of the Silpa texts. The beginning of this feature is seen in the Gupta-Vakataka type of temples at Nachna Kuthara and Bhumra. In the Brahma temple (c. 875 A. D.) at Khajuraho not only a covered passage round the cella is featured but also the device of latticed windows on the two side walls for admitting light to illumine the otherwise dark ambulatory passage. On this plan, in fact, the notable building activity at Khajuraho was extended.

The tradition of the Deogarh temple continued in Rajasthan and adjacent areas at Osia and Ambaneri though some missing links are yet to be traced. The Harshatmata temple at Ambaneri (District Jaipur) is of a *Pancharatha* sanctum with ambulatory passage, a pillared mandapa and a porch, highlighted by a marked richness of sculpture. The earliest temple group at Osia represents a series datable to the eighth century ; the temples are similar to one another and continue the simple *Pancharatha* plan ; and also *Panchayatana* tradition of the Deogarh temple ; their Sikharas reveal 'a stage in the evolution of the Nagara style in which the regional characteristics are yet to appear,' and are greatly refined in their unbroken contours inclining inwards.

Almost coeval in time is the Roda group of temples in North Gujarat, referring to another early efflorescence of the Nagara temple style in particular region. The Demarnam Derum temple at Lakroda seems to be somewhat earlier in date and is strikingly similar to temple No. 10 at Aihole. A small sanctum (*triratha* or *pancharatha* on plan) with a porch in front is the simple design represented by most of the Roda temples. And they may be regarded as having taken cue from the Gupta tradition with respect to the area of northern Gujarat ; and also Kathiawad (with linking instances at Pachthar, Sutrapada, Than, Ghumli, etc.).

Following in time the Gop temple in Saurashtra a series of 'Gop-type' temples is preserved all along the coastal region which more or less form a class by themselves, e. g. at Visavada (which is just the next step from its prototype), Pindara, Bileswara, Bhansara, Kalsar and other places.

The most prolific movement of temple building is witnessed in the Deccan, unique of its kind for evolving both the Nagara and Dravida styles side by side, at Aihole, Pattadakal, Badami and Mahakutesvara. With a view to emphasise the cella or the seat of the deity, in a temple form adapted from the apsidal *chaityaghara*, a room or tower was added over the roof of the sanctum proper. It is best illustrated at Aihole. The earliest group there, referred to above, it seems was in a growth parallel to the Gupta shrines, of flat-roofed porticoed type in the Deccan, and perhaps in the same orbit of enthusiasm as those scattered in Northern India ; only because of this Coomaraswamy discussed them under the Gupta period. The interesting development, in its second phase, of the early Deccani Sikhara of Nagara variety (also of the temple architecture in general, i.e., cloister, front pillared mandapa, etc.) is seen in the sanctum-towers of Temple Nos. 9 and 24, the Hachchimalligudi and the Durga (with later added towers ; strikingly compared to the Parasuramesvara temple at Bhubaneshwar), Sangamesvara (Mahakuteshwar), Kashi-Visvanath and Papanath (at Pattadakal) as principal instances under northern Indian influences.

In Orissa the evidence of architectural growth is preserved at Bhubaneshwar, a great compact centre of the Nagara style from c. 700 A. D. onwards. The earliest temple buildings in Orissa show a least unmodified and easy survival of the Gupta norm in a single square *(triratha)* sanctuary roofed by a curvilinear tower with a buttress-like projection (in fact as the *triratha* elevation) in the middle of each face and crowned by an immense ribbed *amalaka* on the top. The dry masonry consisting of large-sized stones kept in position without mortar also points to the same derivation. Allied centres, or perhaps to some extent to be regarded as the correlating links, of notable importance are the temple sites of Sirpur and Rajim in the Raipur district and Mukhalingam in the Ganjam district, often united in ancient times with present Orissa.

The much ruined temple of Mundeshwari near Bhabua (District Shahabad) is of utmost importance as dated example to have been in existence in 635-6 A. D. (= year 30 of the Harsha Era). It is the rare instance of octagonal plan with four entrances and originally a pillared mandapa in front. Its original Sikhara has now altogether disappeared but must have been an impressive one guiding the course of evolution of late Gupta Sikhara in Bihar as well as in Bengal almost all of the notable early Hindu monuments in which part have long disappeared because of the ruthless destruction by the Muslims.

V

CLASSIFICATION OF GUPTA AND ALLIED TEMPLE STYLES

Nomenclature	Main sites	Basic Form Plan	Elevation	Main Contribution	Prob. Source
Pre-Gupta Temple					
	Kunda	Approximately square cella ; one entrance on the front	Flat slab-roof inside and outside	A step further from the Bodhgaya "Gandhakuti" model	Just initial attempt
Gupta Temple First Phase Imperial Gupta					
	Udaigiri Sanchi Udaigiri Tigowa (Udaypur) (Mahua)	Square flat-roof sanctum with pillared porch	Ceiling with lotus design ; a set pattern of door-frame	Pillared porch	
				High open plinth	Stupa terraces
		Elevated terrace		Doorframe ornamentations, esp. Ganga & Yamuna	See p. 77.
	(Temple at Darra exhibiting an abberant type)				
	Deogarh	Offset on all sides of the sanctum wall	Flat roof but topped by a spire of several steppings	First Sikhara temple *Ratha* - projections in plan & elevation	

	(Appearance of the scheme of stepped out "Sikhara", a virtual flat roof in several tiers)				
	Bhitargaon Bodhgaya	A similar stage of plan and Sikhara elevation but somewhat individualistic genre	Appearance of arch. Sikhara construction with the base of hollow chamber	(Overlaps with the subsequent phase)	
Second Phase (Overlapping in time & other respects with the First)					
A. Gupta-Vakataka	Nachna-Kuthara Bhumra	Covered gallery round the sanctum cella	Sanctum marked by a top cella or a type of spire	Cloister or covered ambulatory False upper chamber	Part of the plan adapted from chaitya-hall
B. Gupta-Pandava	Rajim Sirpur (original erection)	Sanctum and front mandapa connected with a vestibule		Pillared mandapa and vestibule	
C. Gupta-Vanga	Baigram				
D. Gupta-Chalukya	Lad Khan Durga				
E. Gupta-Maitraka	Gop				
Post-Gupta or "Sikhara Temple"	Mundeshwari Sankargarh-Nachna Kuthara Siva T.	Sikhara now being a towering feature			
		(Durga, Hachchimalligudi etc. show Sikhara additions)			
Sirpur Roda Osia and onwards.					

A Chronological Chart of Early Dated Temples in Northern India up to 800 A.D.

Site & Temple	Inscription, if any & Date	Remarks
Eran Narasimha T.	? Insn of Samudragupta (c. 340-380)	Or, the oldest Gupta T. at the site cannot be identified from the extant ruins
Udaigiri		
"False Cave" Mahavaraha Cave No. 6	Insn of Chandragupta II, with G. E. 82=401-2	
"Tawa Cave"	Insn of Chandragupta II, referring to his personal presence at the caves	Covered by a griddle-like flat rock. With lotus-ceiling
Cave 20	Insn with G. E. 106=A.D. 425-6. At the time Kumargupta was ruling.	Jaina dedication
Deogarh		
Vishnu T.	Insn of the time (c. 400-40) of Bhagavata Govinda-(gupta); the same as known from Basarh and Gwalior inscriptions., son of Chandragupta II and governor in Malwa during his elder brother's reign.	Earliest Sikhara Temple
Nagari	Insn dated in Krita Sam. 481= A.D. 424. referring to the erection of a Vishnu T. by three brothers	Two *amalaka* etc. (See *MASI*., No. 4, pp. 124-5)
Mandasor		
?	Insn of Kumaragupta, dated in Malava Sam. 529=471-2, refers to a Sun T. of 493=A.D. 435	The jamb-figure of Ganga
	(See also two Mandasor inscriptions of Yasodharmana - Vishnuvardhana, dated Sam. 589=A.D. 531 – 32.)	Insn mentioning *Kailasa-tunga* Sikhara

Site & Temple	Inscription, if any & Date	Remarks
Bilsar		
Ruined T. site, yielding four pillars cet.	Two insn of Kumaragupta I, one with G.E. 96=A.D. 415.	See pp. 39-40.
Gadhwa		
Pillars from ruined T.	Insns of Chandragupta II (G.E. 88), and Kumaragupta I (G.E. 98=A D. 417-8).	See p. 40.
Baigram		
Ruined site	Copperplate with G.E. 128= A.D. 447-8, refers to Govindasvami T.	Sandhara type. Original erection a generation earlier the date, as it refers to the land donated by the sons of the builder
Bhitari		
Ruins	Bhitari Pillar-Insn of Skandagupta, c. 455-67.	Cunningham, ASR., I, p. 99 : The sculptures seen at Bhitari are sufficient to show the former existence of several large stone temples
Kahaum		
Ruined T. site	Pillar Insn of Skandagupta, with G. E. 141=A.D. 460.	The Dhvaja Column itself perhaps marked a temple site
Damodarpur		
	Copperplate of Budhagupta, dated G. E. 163=A.D. 482-3, refers to two temples.	Later Copperplate of G. E. 224, also refers one of them
Eran		
Ruins	Pillar Insn of Budhagupta, dated G. E. 165=484-5 A.D., refers to Janardana Dhvaja-Stambha.	Probably associated with the erection of some Vishnu T.
Varaha T.	The great Varaha bears insn of Huna king Toramana, dated in his 1 regnal yr=roughly A.D. 500.	
Gwalior		
?	Insn of the Huna Mihirakula, dated in his 15 regnal yr. Refers to a *Sailamaya prasada* of Sun.	
Nachna Kuthara		
Parvati T.	Insn of the Vakataka feudatory Vyaghradeva (c. 470-490).	Doubtful whether the insn can be connected with the temple extant

Site & Temple	Inscription, if any & Date	Remarks
Bhumra Siva T.	Separately found insn. of the time (c.A.D. 475-510) of the Vakataka feudatory Maharaja Hastin.	It possibly marks the rebuilding of the monument with a cloister and mandapa. Initial erection older by several generations.
Khoh Diverse ruins	Copperplate of Maharaja Samkshobha, son of Hastin. Refers to Devakula of Bhagavati.	
Rajim Rajivalochana T.	Insn of c. A.D. 650. Refers to a Vishnu T. by a Nala king.	May possibly indicate its renovation. (*EI.* XXXVI, p. 49)
Bhabua Mundeshvari T.	Dated to yr 30 of Harsha=A.D. 635-6, refers to a temple of Vishnu Mandalesvara.	Octagonal plan. Originally crowned with a Sikhara. Largely renovated.
Aphasad ?	Insn of the time of Adityasena, refers to Vishnu's temple built by his queen.	
Deo Baranark Temple ruins	Insn of Jivitagupta II (c. 825-850) refers to a Varuna Ayatana.	
Osia Mahavira T.	Insn of V.S. 1013=A.D. 956, recording the original foundation of the temple by Pratihara king Vatsaraja (c. 777-808).	Other Hindu temples of early group at Osia, may also refer to the Pratihara period.
Buchkala Vishnu T.	Insn of Pratihara Nagabhata II, with date in VS. 872=A.D. 815-6.	

Evolution of Ganga-Yamuna Figures & Their Position on early Temple Entrances

I Probable Salabhanjika prototype.

Bracket Salabhanjika figures at Sanchi & Mathura
Female figures flanking the Stupa and Bodhighara entrance, at Bharhut, Mathura
Makaravahana figures flanking the religious panel, at Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda
Makaravahana females flanking the Naga shrine, Amaravati

II On the Gupta temple doorframes

Site	Identification	Position
Sanchi	missing	Blank space on either side above the lintel
Udaigiri (Cave-T.)	Makaravahana	On either side above the lintel
Udaigiri Mahavaraha	The so-called descent of Ganga and Yamuna shown on the either side of the Mahavaraha statue. Makaravahana females propably for the first time interpreted in the light of great Madhyadesa rivers, deified goddesses on their distinctive mounts, now **Makara** and **Kachchhapa.** See pp. 66-8. However, in the descent of the rivers from heavens, the position of these figures itself was to be high occupying upper portion.	
Tigowa	Ganga & Yumuna	Upper level
Deogarh	Ganga & Yamuna	Upper level
Nagod	Female on fish-tailed dwarf	Upper level (Allahabad Museum)
Bhitargaon	Ganga & Yamuna (damaged)	Middle portion of the side walls of the entrance
Ahichchhatra	Ganga & Yamnna	Lifesize figures occupying full entrance height
Karhod	Ganga & Yamuna	Fullsize statues
Dah Parbatia	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower part of the jambs; considerably large figures occupying half of the elevation

Nachna Kuthara Parvati T.	Ganga & Yamuna	Duplicate set (?) of the goddesses, as if in confusion of the Silpa ruling, one in lower part and another occupying the side space near the lintel level
Bhumra	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower parts
Eran, T. of Toramana	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower parts
Nachna Kuthara Siva T.	Ganga & Yamuna (?)	Upper parts; its initial foundation probably contemporary to the Deogarh temple
Deogarh, Varaha T.	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower parts
Sankargadh	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower parts
Bhabua	Ganga & Yamuka	At the bottom of the jambs
Gwalior, Teli-ka-Mandir	Ganga & Yamuna	Lower parts.

NOTES

1. See also the introducing remarks made by other scholars showing Gupta period as the age of renaissance and classical ferment. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian and Indonesian Art* (London, 1927), pp. 71-2; Brown, Percy, *Indian Architecture—Buddhist and Hindu* (Bombay, 1959, 3rd ed.), p. 47; Saraswati, S. K., "Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age," *JISOA.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 146 ff. ; Agrawala, V. S., *Gupta Art* (Lucknow, 1947), pp. 1–2; *Studies in Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 199–208; Goetz, H., *India — Five thousand years of Indian Art* (Holland, 1960), pp. 85–7.

2. Fergusson, James, *History of Indian Architecture* (edt. by James Burgess, revised, 1910), pp. 53–54.

3 Ibid., p. 53.

4. Macdonell, A.A., *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), pp. 17–18; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 42.

5. Agrawala, V. S., *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 123 f.

6. *Ma kaysa yaksham sadamiddhuro ga ma vesasya praminato mapeh.* RV. IV. 3.13.

7. Kramrsich, Stella, *Hindu Temple* (Calcutta, 1946), pp, 158 f.

8. Coomaraswamy, "Origin of the Buddha Image," *Art Bulletin*, Vol. IX, No. 4, pp. 15 ff. ; *HIIA.*, pp. 39, 46 f. ; *Yaksas* (Washington, 1928), pt. I, pp. 28–30; Agrawala, V S., *Indian Art*, pp. 235–244.

9. *Yaksas*, pp. 17–28.

10. Ibid., p. 17.

11. Ibid.

12. Agrawala, V. S., *Prachina Bharatiya Lokadharma* (=Ancient Indian Folk Cults (Ahemdabad, 1964), pp. 132-43.

13. "We find at Bharhut and Sanchi the tree, wheel, etc., on or behind an altar, clearly designated in the inscriptions as "Buddha" (Bhagavato) and worshipped as such; even in elaborate scenes from the life, the Master is represented only by the symbols (tree, wheel, *chhatta*, *paduka*), repeated as often as the technique of continuous narration may require. (*HIIA.*, p. 45).

14. These may be designated by the following names respectively :

(1) *Chattvara* type ;
(2) *Chhattra – chattvara* type ;
(3) *Vataka* (वाटक) type ;
(4) *Mandapa* type :
(5) (*Chaitya-*) *Ghara* type.

15. Undoubtedly the railing evolved as an integral part of religious monuments and rather it was built as symbolic of sanctity, round a Stupa,

45. Ibid., p. 54.

46, Ibid., p. 70.

47. Chhabra, B. Ch., "A newly discovered stone inscription of Skandagupta's reign," *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, XII, Vol. IV, pp. 587–9.

48. *Lalita Kala*, No. 9 (Bombay, April, 1961), p. 17.

49. Ibid., p. 21.

50. Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. X (Calcutta, 1887), p. 60, also Preface, p. V.

51. Ibid., Vol. IX (Calcutta, 1887), p. 42.

52. Coomaraswamy, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp. 77 ff.; Banerji, R. D., *Temple of Siva at Bhumra* (MASI. No. 16, Calcutta, 1924); *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 130-158; *Progress Report of the A.S.I. Western Circle, for 1919* (Calcutta, 1920), p. 61; Vats, M. S., *Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (MASI. 70); Percy Brown, op. cit., Chs. IX and X; Saraswati, op. cit.; Agrawala, *Gupta Art*; *Studies in Indian Art*, Section VII; Goetz, "Imperial Rome and the Genesis of Classic Indian Art," *East and West*, Vol. X, No. 1959, p. 153.

53. Debala Mitra, "Sankar-Madha at Kunda, District Jabalpur, *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (Fourth Series), Vol. VII, Nos. 1-2 (1965), pp. 79-81, and accompanying Plates I-VI.

54. Fergusson · (*Indian Architecture*, revised ed., p. 132) noted this temple 'in the Mukundwara pass in Kota', which he considered as old as 'the flourishing age of the Guptas'; he also illustrated a view of it in his *Picturesque Illustrations of Indian Architecture*, pl. 5. It was, in fact, before Cunningham's Surveys. Percy Brown did also comment in his *Indian Architecture* (pp. 50-51) on its masonry. But the value of this now deplorably ruined monument was rediscovered by V. S. Agrawala, "A new Gupta Temple at Darra in Malwa," *JUPHS.*, XXIII, 1940, p. 196; *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 226-27.

55. Brown, op. cit., p. 50.

56. *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 227; *Evolution of the Hindu Temple and other Essays* (Varanasi, 1965), pp. 3 ff.

57. Vidisa was a great centre of artisans and adept craftsmen from very early period. They had played the leading role in the great artistic movement during the Maurya-Sunga period as is fully evidenced from the inscription on the Western Torana-gate of the Great Sanchi Stupa which informs about the ivory-workers from Vidisa responsible for the *rupakamma* (work of art) at Sanchi.

Once again now in the Gupta period, descendants from the same line of art masters took the responsibility of evolving a temple type to a possible maturity.

58. Cunningham, *ASR.*, Vol. X, p., 46.

59. Patil, D. R., *Monuments of the Udaigiri Hill* (Gwalior, 1948), pp. 9-10.

60. Brown, op. cit., p. 49.

61. *ASR.*, X, p. 62.

62. Marshall, J., *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 177-18.

63. *ASR.*, X, p. 62.

64. Ibid.

65. Goetz, "Imperial Rome and the Genesis of Classical Indian Art'. *East and West*, Vol. X, No. 3 1959, p. 153; "School of Gupta", *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. VII, 1963, pp. 248-263, p. 254; *India : Five thousand years of Indian Art*, p. 87. Goetz is the only author making mention of this temple; illustrated by him in the *East and West*, X, 3, fig. 1, 1.

66. This feature develops by the Deogarh, Bhumra temples.

67. *ASR.*, IX, pp. 42, 45-46, pls. X and XI; Brown, op. cit., p. 48.

68. Cunhingham, IX, p. 45.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., X, p. 88.

71. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

72. Ibid., p.89

73. Mukherji, P. C., *Report on the Antiquities in the District of Lalitpur, N. W. Provinces*, Vol. I (1899), pp. 11-12 ; Banerjee, N. R., "New Light on the Gupta Temples at Deogarh", *J. of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, Nos. 1-2 (1963), pp. 37 ff. For a recent view about the later date of the Deogarh temple, see *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXV (1962), pp. 169-70.

74. Cunningham, *ASR.*, X, pp. 105 f.; Mukerji, P. C., Vol. I, pp. 10-11 ; Banerji, loc. cit., pp. 145 f. ; Vats, *Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (MASI, No. 70); Agrawala, V. S., "Gupta Temple at Devagarh", *Art and Letters* (London, 1947), p. 51 ff. ; *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 220-25 ; Brown, op. cit., p. 50. Also Rau, Heims, "Stilistische Anmerkungen zu den Bindwerken des Dasavatara temples in Deogarh", *Jahrbuch des Sudasien-Instituts der Universitat Heidelberg* (1966), pp. 118-26.

75. *Annual Progress Report, Ḥindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle*, March 1918, pp. 7 f.

76. Vats, op. cit., p. 13.

77. *ASR.*, X, p. 105, pl. XXXIV.

78. Fuhrer, A., *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh* (Arch. Survey of India, 1891), pp. 120-1.

79. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 146 ; who took it as "a covered path of circumambulation".

80. Op. cit., p. 50.

81. Vats, op. cit., p. 6.

82. Ibid.

83. As Dr Fuhrer (pp. 120-1)described the monument, "On each sides of the terrace there was a flight of steps leading up to a portico or verandah supp-

orted on four large pillars. Two of these pillars still remain complete, but fallen, and there are portions of two others of the same design lying on the edge of the terrace. From the position of the two unbroken pillars it is certain that they must have stood near the temple, although there are no pilasters attached to the walls with which these pillars could have been connected to form a portico. But high up on each wall there are the remains of four beams or architraves which once projected from the building for the purpose of supporting a flat canopy over the sculpture in the niche below. A piece of one of these beams, between three feet and four feet long, still projects on the east side, and still carries a portion of its roofing-slab. Now, the lower side of these projecting beams is 15 feet six inches above the original level of the platform and therefore the pillars which carried their outer ends must have been of the same height."

84. Cunningham, op. cit., p. 110.
85. *APR, HBM., Northern Circle,* March 1918, pp. 8 and 12.
86. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas,* p. 145.
87. Brown, op. cit., p. 50.
88. Vats, op. cit., p. 11.
89. Ibid., pp. 28-9.
90. Mookerji, R.K., *Gupta Empire*(New Delhi), p. 49. Agrawala, V.S., *Studies in Indian art,* p. 225.

91. *Vistirna-tunga-sikharam sikhariprakasam. CII.,* Vol. III, p. 81 (verse 3). See above p. 39.

92. Cunningham, *A.S.R.,* X, p. 41; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.,* p. 86.

93. Dvivedi, H. N., and V. G., *Madhyabhārat ka Itihāsa* (मध्यभारत का इतिहास), Vol. I (Gwalior, 1956), p. 623.

94. Fleet, CII, III, pp. 43-5. Suryavanshi, B. S., "Exploration at Bilsad", *J. of the Asiatic Society of Bombay,* Vol. 30, pt. 1 (1955), pp. 56 ff.

95. *ASR.,* XI, pp. 17-18.

96. Saraswati, op. cit., p. 151; *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, p. 81. Majumdar (edited), *History of Bengal* (Dacca, 1943), Vol. I, p. 511.

97. Gadhwa : Cunningham *ASR.,* Vol. X, p. 11; XI, p. 17; CII, III, Nos. 8, 9; Bhitari : Vol. I, p. 99; CII, III, No. 15; Kahaum : Vol. 1, p. 94; Buchanan, *Eastern India,* II, p. 367; *CII, III,* No. 15.

98. Banerji, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas,* p. 137.
99. Ibid.
100. *Classical Age,* p. 507.
101. Cunningham, *ASR,* XXI, p. 96.
102. *Ibid.,* p. 97.
103. *PR, ASI, WS.,* for 1920, pp. 104-05.
104. Cunningham, *ASR.,* XXI, p. 99.

105. Banerji, op. cit., p. 146.

106. See *PR, ASI, WS.*, for 1919, pls. XVI, XVII showing its plan, back view and details of the doorway.

107. Longhurst, A.H., "The influence of Umbrella in Indian Architecture", *Journal of Indian Art*, No. 122, p. 6.

108. Cnnningham, *ASR.*, XI, pp. 40 f. *ASI-AR.*, for 1908-9, p. 8.

109. Brown, op. cit., p. 41.

110. *ASR.*, XI, p. 40-6; *The Age of Imperial Guptas*, pp. 134-5.

111. *ASI-AR.*, 1908-09, p. 6.

112. Brown, loc. cit., p. 41.

113. *ASI-AR.*, 1908-09, p. 11; Brown, op. cit., pp. 80, 129.

114. Fergusson, *Hist. of Ind. Arch.*, Vol. I, pp. 327 ff. and Vol. II, p. 431. *ASI-AR.*, 1908-9, p. 11.

115. Cunningham, *ASR.*, XI, p. 142.

116. Like the other brick temples in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh, and Deogarh and Nachna Kuthara temples. See below p. 77.

117. Now Madhya Pradesh. He further remarked :

"It will be seen from Pl. XV in Volume XI of Cunningham's *Reports*, that this doorframe had been removed before he visited the temple, and I feel sure that the chief cause of the collapse of this porch is due to the doorframe having been removed; the mass of brickwork above, having no longer any support below, fell in, with the result that practically no trace of the porch now remains." *AR-ASI.*, for 1908-09, p. 14.

118. Ibid., p. 9.

119. Some scholars think that the family of Pamduvamsi rulers flourished in the eighth century. But, however, this opinion can not be believed due to several important reasons. For their early date and history, see *Classical Age*, pp. 220-2.

120. *ASI-AR.*, 1909-10, p. 12. Brown, loc.cit., p. 42.

121. *Classical Age*, p. 518.

122. Giving birth, later on, to the Nagara Style in this area. See below, pp. 80 f.

123. Partly similar to the technique represented on a Mathura relief, *HIIA.*, fig. 69.

124. *ASI-AR.*, 1909-10.

125. Ibid.

127. In fact earlier to the Gupta period, there appears to have been no '*temple*' constructions even of the Buddhist, though Stupas, rock-cut and structural *chaitya-gharas* were there serving as 'the place of veneration to the Buddha'. The same was possibly the case with the Jaina Community.

128. Quoted by Cunningham, *Mahabodhi or the Great Buddhist Temple at Buddhagaya* (London, 1892), p. 18.

129. Cunningham, *ASR.*, XI, pp. 42-4, 143; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 81; *Classical Age* (ch. by S. K. Saraswati), pp. 517-18.

130. Cunningham, *ASR.*, p. 43 ; Beal, Samuel, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London, 1906), Vol. II, pp. 167 ff.

131. Huen Tsang refers to the brick "Vihara" and its statue of the Buddha in the *Mahanirvana* pose. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 82.

132. *ARI-AR.*, 1904-05, p. 48; 1908-09, pp. 6, 9.

133. Kuraishi, M. H. and Ghosh, A., *A Guide to Rajgir* (Delhi, 1939), pp. 21 ff. Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, p. 82.

134. The last of them being the Jaina temple of recent date which was demolished by Bloch in 1905-06., *ASI-AR.*, for 1905-06.

135. *Classical Age*, p. 503.

136. Ghosh, A., *Ancient India*, No. 1, p. 38. Agrawala, V. S., ibid., No. 4, pp. 133, 167. See also *Archaeological Remains, Monuments and Museums*, (New Delhi, 1964), part II, 342; Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 253.

137. *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 167.

138. See above p. 45.

139. *Ancient India*, No. 4, p. 167. *V. D. Purana*, III. ch. 84. 1-4.

142. *Annual Report, Arch. Section, Gwalior State*, 1927, p. 19.

141. Burgess, J., *Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh* (ASWI., II, London, 1876), p. 187; Consens, H., *Somanatha and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiawad* (ASI,IS., XLV; Calcutta, 1931), pp. 6 f.; Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, pp. 75, 77, 79, 82; Soundara Rajan, K. V., "A note on the age of Gop Temple." *J. of Oriental Institute*, Baroda, Vol. XIV, No. 2, pp. 186-92

142. *CII.*, III, p. 65

143. *Struggle for Empire*, edt. R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, Bombay, 1954, p. 584.

144. Cousens, H., *Architectural Antiquities of Western India* (London, 1926), p. 14.

145. See below p. 83.

146. *Arch. Remains, Monuments and Museums*, II, p. 192.

147. Cousens, H., "Ter-Tagara", *ASI-AR.*, 1902-03 ; Fergusson, *HIA.*, I, p. 126; Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Western India*, pp. 12-3; Brown, op.cit., p. 41.

148. Other surviving structural example of early Buddhist *chaitya*-hall being that at Guntapalle, 2nd cent. A. D., which is in much ruinous state of preservation and appears to have been similar to the above two in its conception, use of wood and formation of the roof. K. R. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in Andhra and Andhra History*, (Madras, 1932,) pp. 24-5; for those at Nagarjunakonda, H. Sarkar, "The Buddhist Monuments at Nagarjunakonda", *Ancient India*, No. 16, 1960, pp. 65 ff. ; that at Sanchi, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 100.

149. See Cousens, H., *Chalukyan Architecture.*

150. The same intention,—inspired by which were raised the small *sikharas* over the apse of the Durga and Hachchimalligudi temples.

151. This feature was invariably adopted by the Jainas ; in Brahmanic architecture it also appears in some Orissan temples.

152. Fergusson, op. cit., I, p. 336.

153. Percy Brown, op. cit., p. 80

154. Mahendravarman's Mandagappattu Inscription. *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, p. 17 ; *South Indian Inscriptions*, XII, No. 12. *Etad-anishtakamadruma-malohamasudham* : This brickless, timberless, metalless and mortarless (mansion=*ayatana*).

155. Srinivasan, K. R., *Cave-temples of the Pallavas* (Arch. Survery of Temple Series No. I, New Delhi, 1964), pp. 62, 65, 68, 72, 90, 101, 108, 117, 143 (for one-cell porticoed cave shrine), and others.

156. Fergusson, *HIEA.*, I, p. 336.

157 *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 211

158. अथ शाखा चतुर्भागे प्रतीहारी निवेशयेत् ॥ शेपं मंगल्यविहगैः श्रीवृक्ष-स्वस्तिकैर्घटै ।
मिथुनैः पत्रवल्लीभिः प्रमथैश्चोपशोभयेत् ॥ *Brihatsamhita* 56. 14-15.

159. Though many a fragmentary doorframe—perhaps from secular buildings—have been found of the Kushana period. But not a single one does show the river-goddess or allied figures. The pattern of the Gupta doorway—particularly to the religious buildings—was devised in a way as suggested.

160. *Gupta Art*, pp. 7-8, 36.

161. Ibid. Also in his article in Hindi, "Guptayuga me Madhyadesa ka Kalatmaka Chitrana." *Nagari Pracharini Patrika*, Vikramānka (Vol. 48 - issues 1-4, VS. 2000), pp.43-48.

162. Op. cit., p. 48. And even earlier to him Coomaraswamy (*Yaksas*, p. 36) and others (ibid., fn. 2).

163. Deneck, M. M., *Indian Sculpture* (London, 1963, Spring Books) fig. 24. Longhurst, *Nagarjunakonda* (MASI., No. 54, Delhi, 1938), pls. 32a, 33, 35, etc.

164. Op. cit., p. 48.

165. Cunningham, *ASR.*, X, p. 60.

166. Ibid., IX, p. 41.

167. Ibid., pp. 45-6.

168. Palit, loc. cit.

169. Cunningham, *ASR.*, X, p. 88.

170. Vats, loc. cit.

171. Cunningham, *ASR.*, XI, p. 18.

172. Ibid., X, p. 11.

173. Ibid., p. 13.

174. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 159.

175. Now in the Lucknow Museum.

176. Palit, op, cit., pl. VI.

177. *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 228 ff.; *Lalit Kala*, No. 9 (April, 1961), Figs. 1-2.

178. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pl. XXIV; and also Kala, S. C., *Sculptures in the Allahabad Municipal Museum* (Allahabad, 1946), pl. XX A-B; and Mookerji, Radha Kumud, *Ancient India* (Allahabad, 1959), pl. facing p. 288.

179. *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 228.

180. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 124-25.

181. *Temple of Siva at Bhumara; Studies in Indian Art*, p. 229.

182. *Gupta Art*, pp. 19, 38.

183. Cunningham, *ASR.*, IX, pp. 41 ff., X, pp. 56 ff.; XXI, pp. 96 ff.

184. *Karamrisch, Hindu Temple*, p. 121, fn. 74.

185. Ibid., p. 148.

186. See above pp. 49, 51.

187. See above pp. 4 ff.

188. Agrawala, *Gupta Art*, p. 23 ; *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 220.

189. Brown, loc. cit, p. 116.

190. *Arch. Remains Monuments and Museums*, pp. 161-69.

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List of Photographic Reproductions

Plate I

a. Altar under tree. The tree here is possibly *bodhivriksha,* of Buddha. Mark the rectangular shape of the dais under it. 1st cent. B. C. See pp. 6 ff. Photo : ASI.

b. Detail of a sculptural fragment from Sanchi *torana,* Stupa No. I. 1st cent. B. C. Here we see sacred altars under tree and in one case pillars are installed at the corners and possibly support a wooden entablature. Sanchi Museum. See pp. 6 ff. Photo : ASI.

c. Linga on a raised square platform. The tree seen here in the background served as coverage from above. See pp. 6 ff. Photo : ASI.

d. Linga on pedestal. Mathura. 1st cent. A. D. See pp. 6 ff. Photo : ASI.

Plate II

a. Siva-linga installed on a platform under a tree. Mathura, 1st cent. B. C. Mathura Museum. Photo : Mathura Museum. It shows a colossal phallus enclosed by a structural railing under a huge tree.

b and c. From Bodhgaya railing. 1 cent. B. C. Here we see the structural shrine type with the two sides and back walls made of stone blocks and the front left open for entrance. As the roof a large one-piece stone is placed on it. See pl. III c. In the inscriptions this seems to be mentioned as *Gandhakuti.* Photo : ASI. See pp. 6 ff., 14.

Plate III

a. Detail from an inscribed stele, Amaravati sculpture, 2st cent. B. C. Showing domical building, possibly of timber as serving the shrine for Buddha. It is called *chetiya* in the inscription where Mara worships Buddha. Photo : ASI.

b. Chaitya-shrine with domical roof, lower portion shows pillars and an enclosing fence, of wood. Amaravati, 2-1 cent. B. C. Photo : ASI. See pp. 9 ff.

c. Structural shrine or *Gandhakuti*. From a Bodhgaya relief. Detail of Pl. II b. Photo : ASI.

d. Temple of Sankarmadha. Kunda, near Tigowa. C. 300 A. D. Photo : ASI. See pp. 21-2.

Plate IV

a. Tawa Cave. Udaigiri. See pp. 26-7.

b. False Cave. Udaigiri. See pp. 26-7.

Plate V

View of the ruined Gupta temple of Siva at Mukundara (Darra), near Kota. Photo : V. S. Agrawala. See pp. 23-6.

Plate VI

Carved ceiling of the early Gupta temple of Siva. Darra. Photo : V. S. Agrawala. See p. 24.

Plate VII

a. Detial of the lotus–ceiling of the Tawa Cave. Udaigiri. See p. 26.

b. Detail of the lotus–ceiling of Cave 17. Udaigiri. See p. 27.

Plate VIII

a. Facade of Cave 6. Udaigiri.

b. Facade of the Amrita Cave. Udaigiri. See p. 27.

Plate IX

a. Temple 17. View from north. Sanchi. See pp. 27-8.

b. Detail of the doorframe. Showing iconostasis of the lost 'river-goddess figures.' See pp. 27, 66.

c. Detail of pillars of the portico. Same. See p. 70.

Plate X

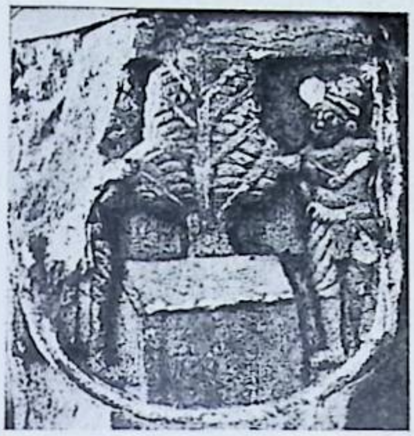
a. Pillar and part of the doorframe standing from the ruined Gupta temple on the Udaigiri hill-top. It presumably is the early type and stylistically close to the pillars of Sanchi Temple 17. From the ruins the temple appears to have been a large Gupta monument.

b. Mahavaraha Cave. Udaigiri. The projecting rock-wall makes it rather a cave-shelter open from the front. See pp. 72-3.

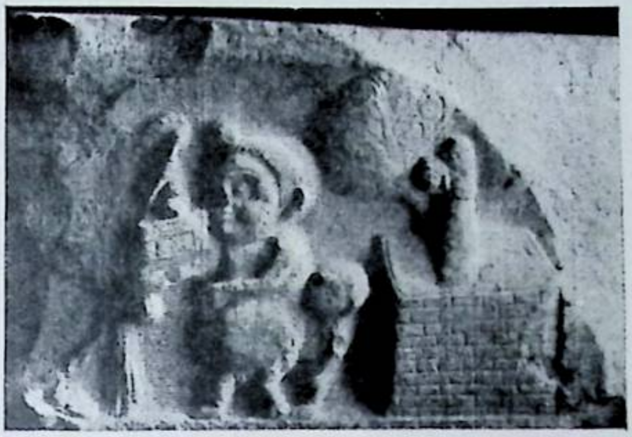
Plate XI

a-b. Descent of Ganga-Yamuna. Two similar scenes on

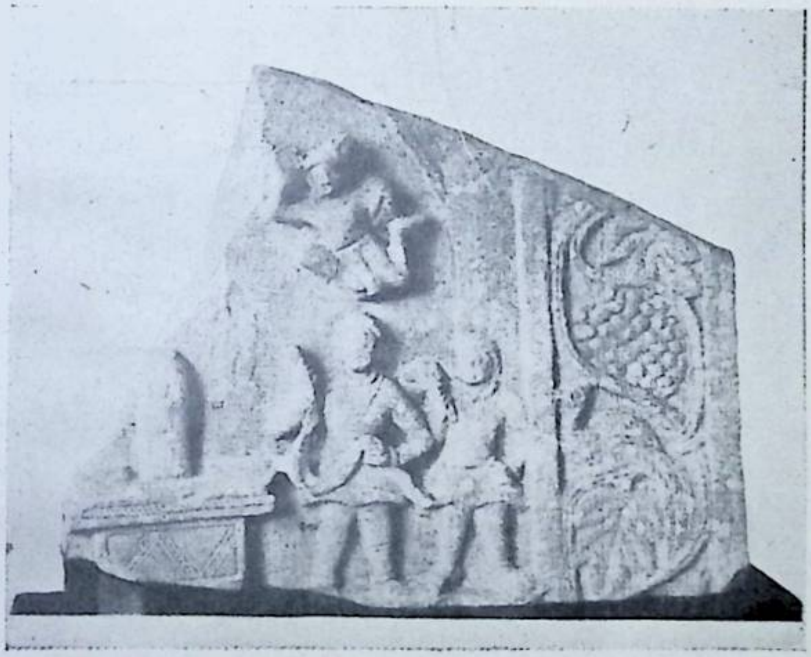
Plate I



a



c

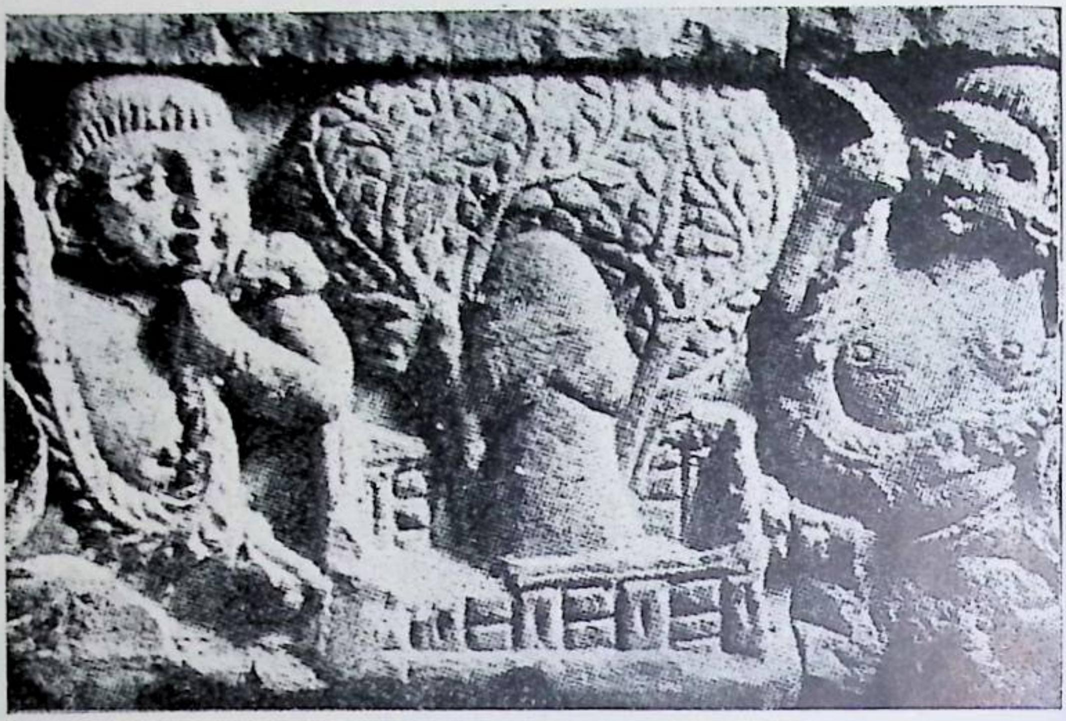


d

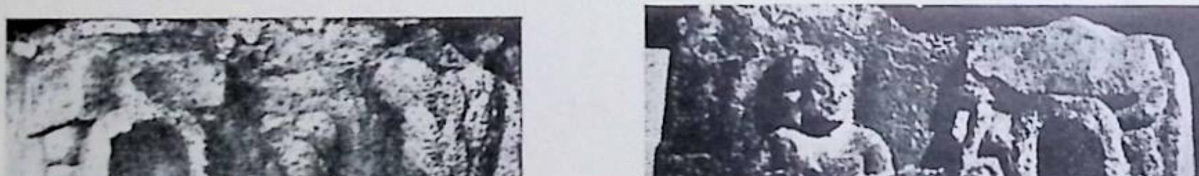
b

a. Altar under tree, Bodhgaya Railing. b. Fragment of a Sanchi Railing pillar.
c. Linga shrine, Mathura, 1st cent. B. C. d. Linga worship, Mathura, 1st cent. A.D.

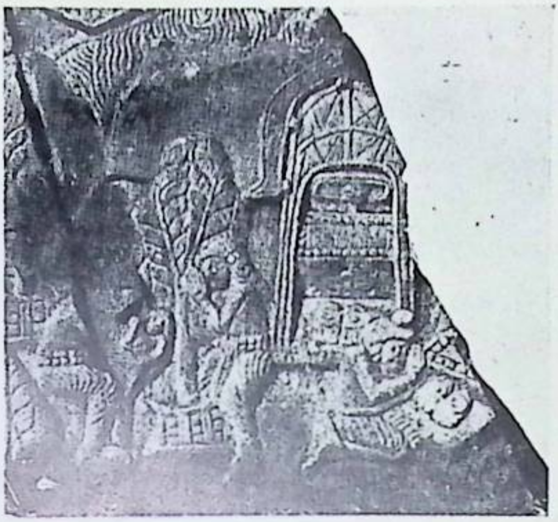
Plate II



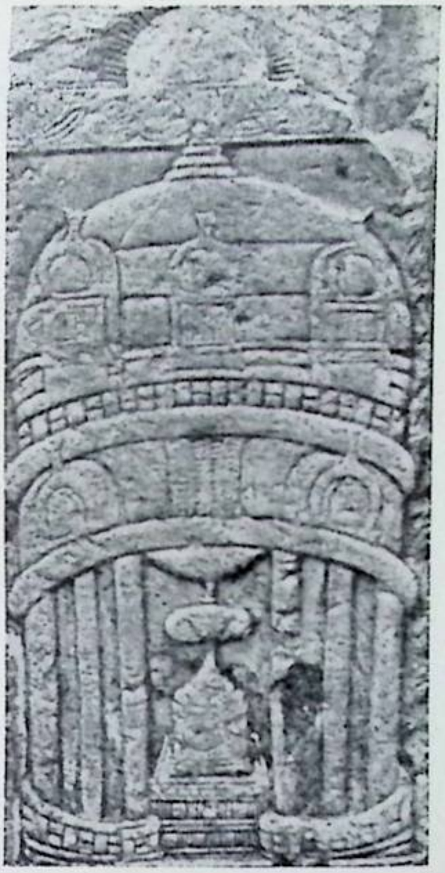
a. Siva-linga installed on a platform under a tree. 1st cent. B. C. Mathura.



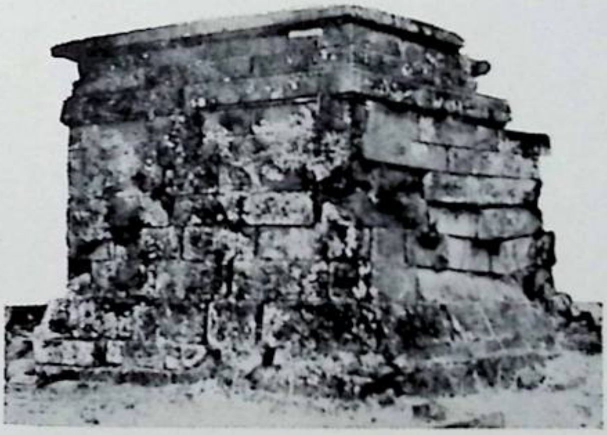
b and c. Type of a structural shrine. Bodhgaya railing. 1st cent. B. C.



a
Right : Bahuputra chetiya. Left : At Chapala-chetiya Mara worships Buddhapada, Stele. Amaravati. 2nd cent. B. C.

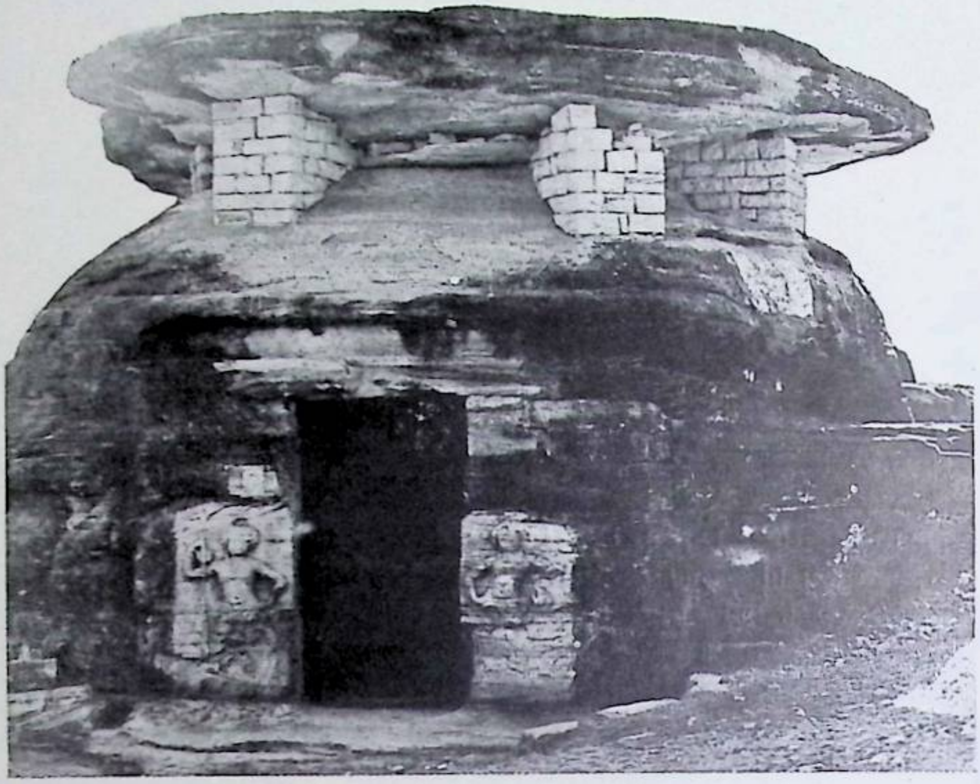


b. Chaitya-shrine with domical roof. Amaravati. 2-1 cent. B. C.

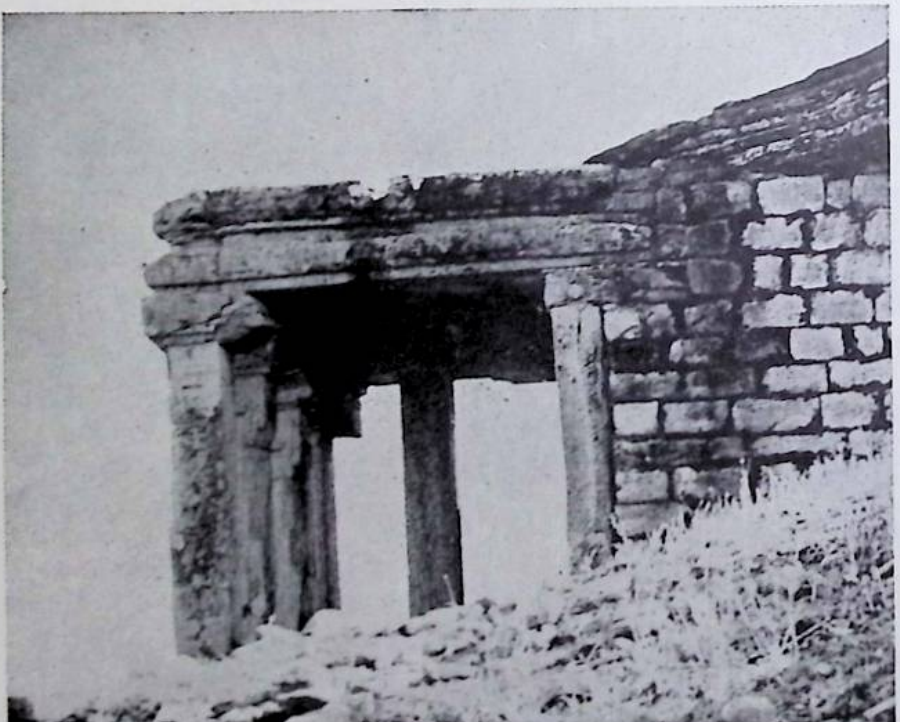


d. Sankarmadha at Kunda. C. 300 A. D.

c. Gandhakuti Shrine. From Bodhgaya relief. 1 cent. B. C.

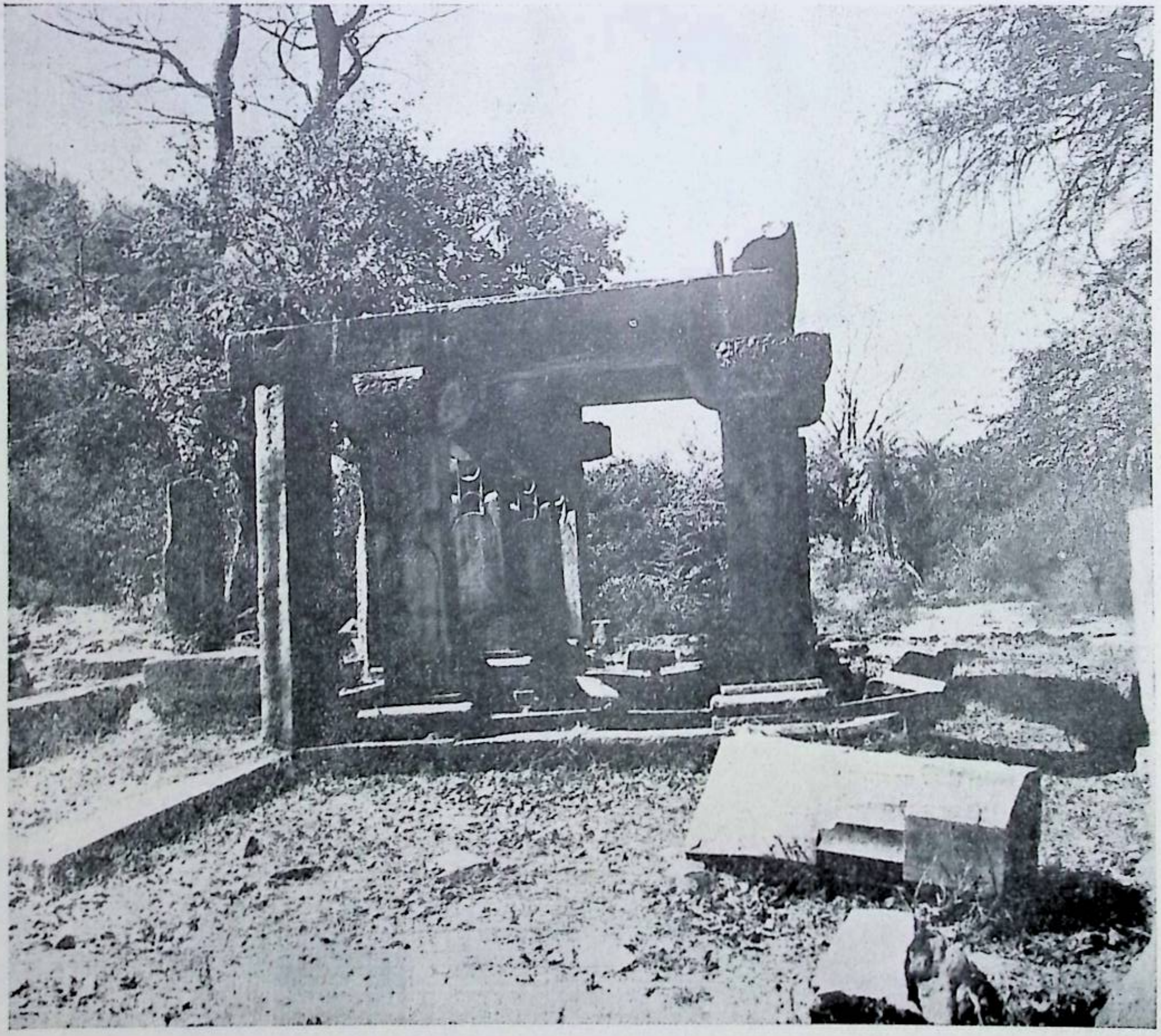


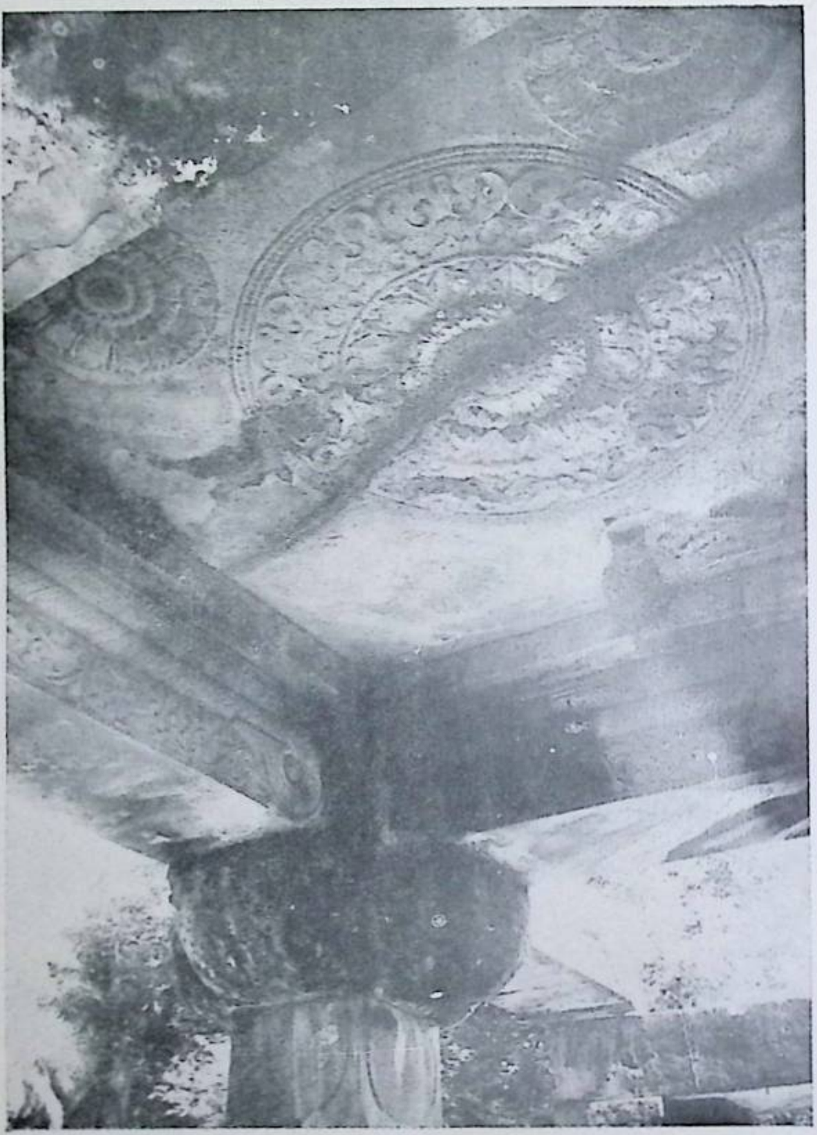
a
Tawa Cave. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D.



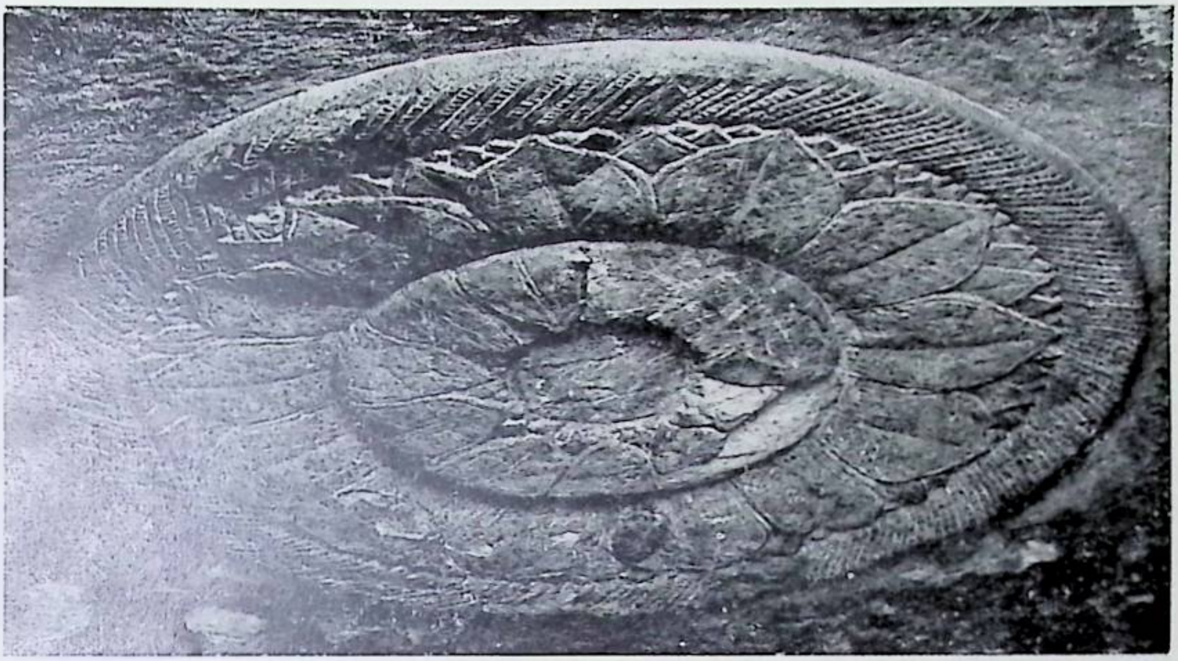
b
False Cave. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D.

Plate
V

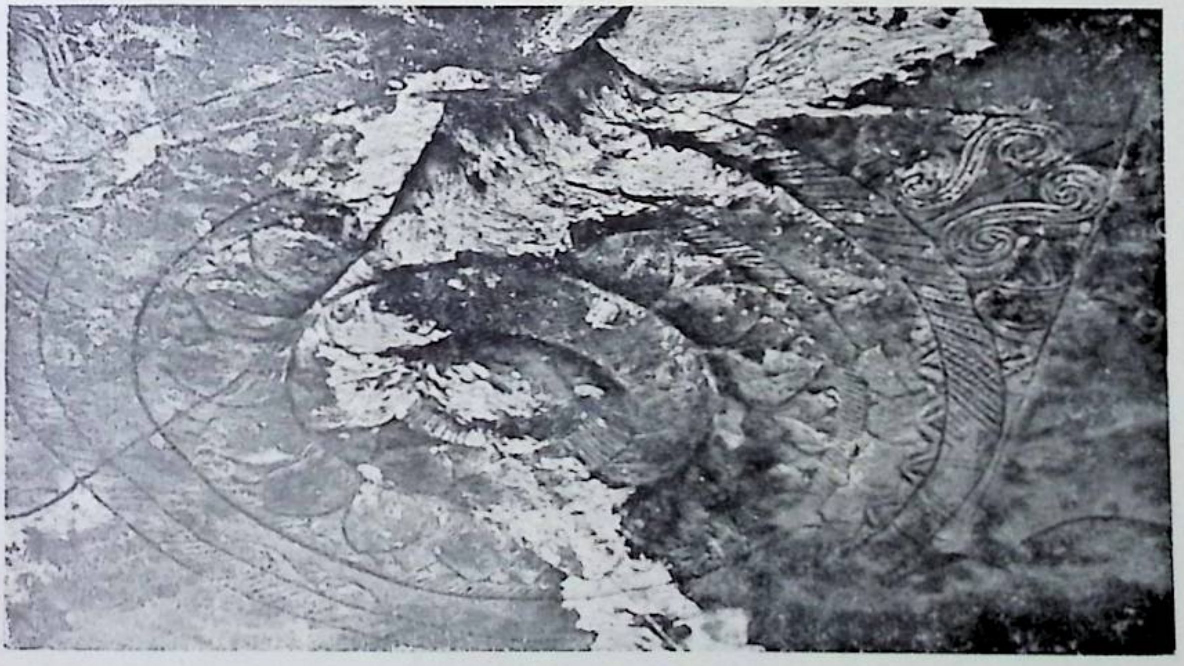




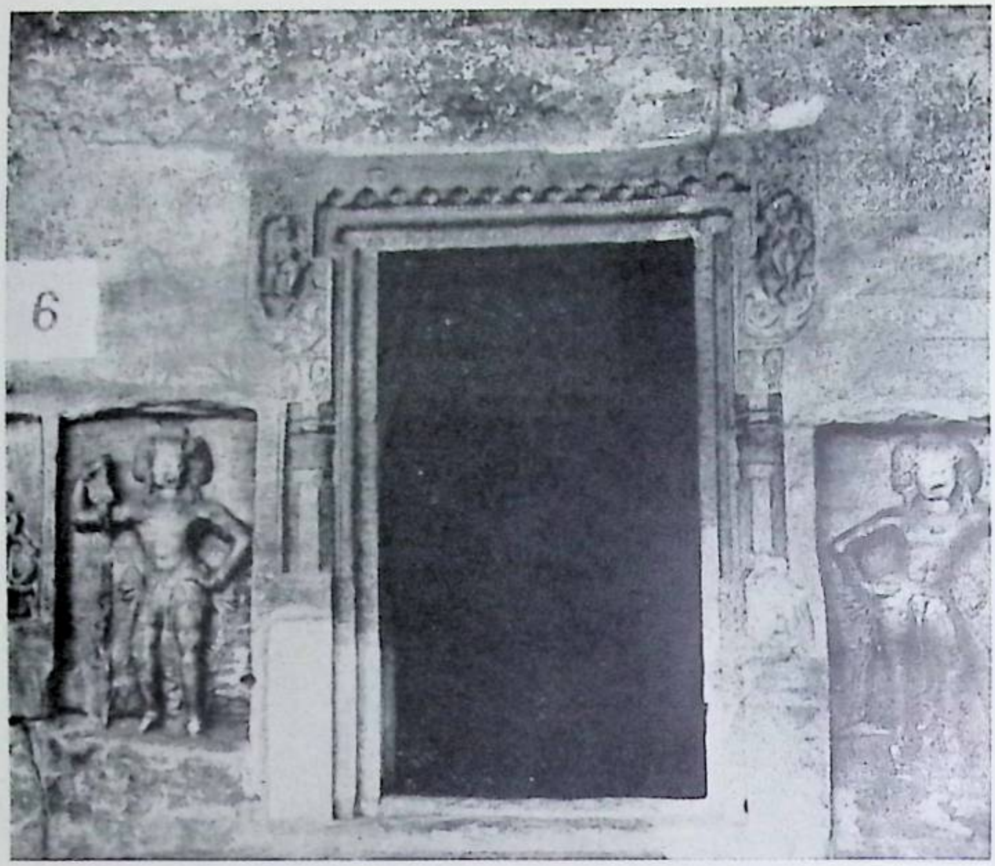
Carved ceiling of the early Gupta temple of Śiva. Darra.



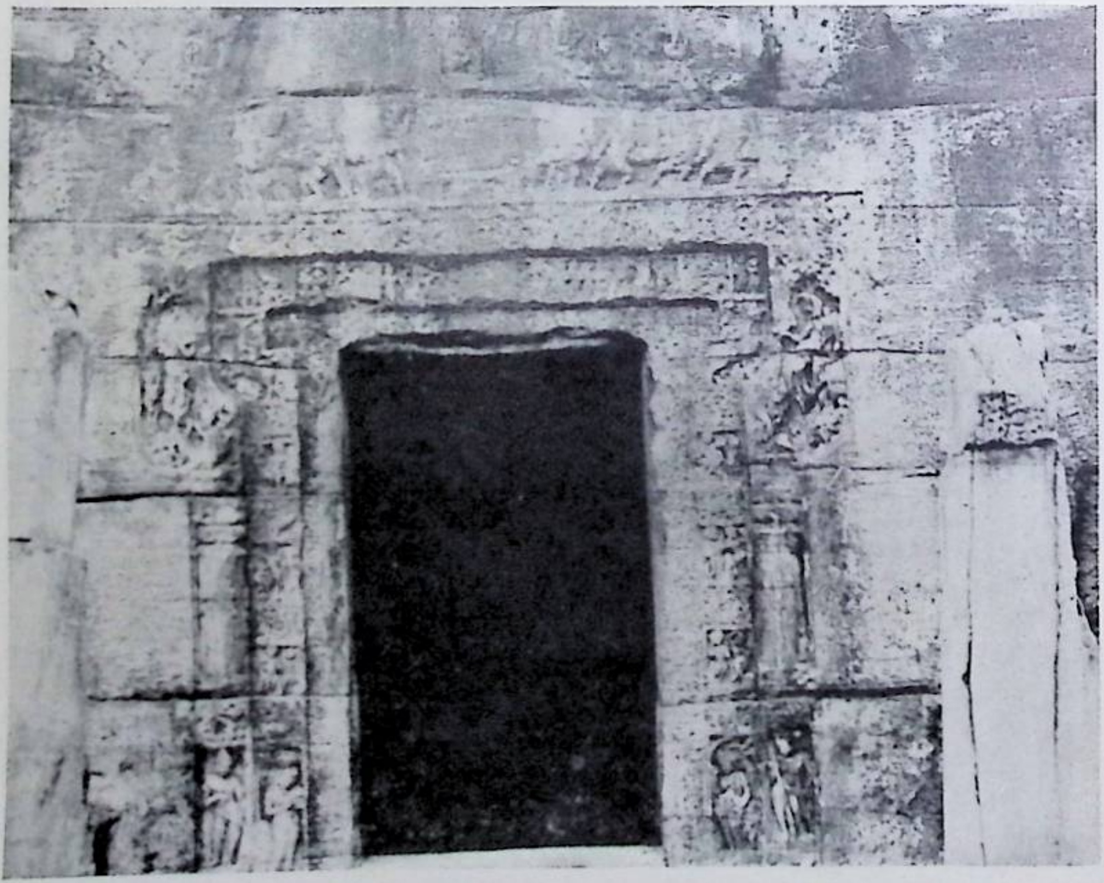
Detail of Lotus-ceiling. Tawa Cave Udaigiri.



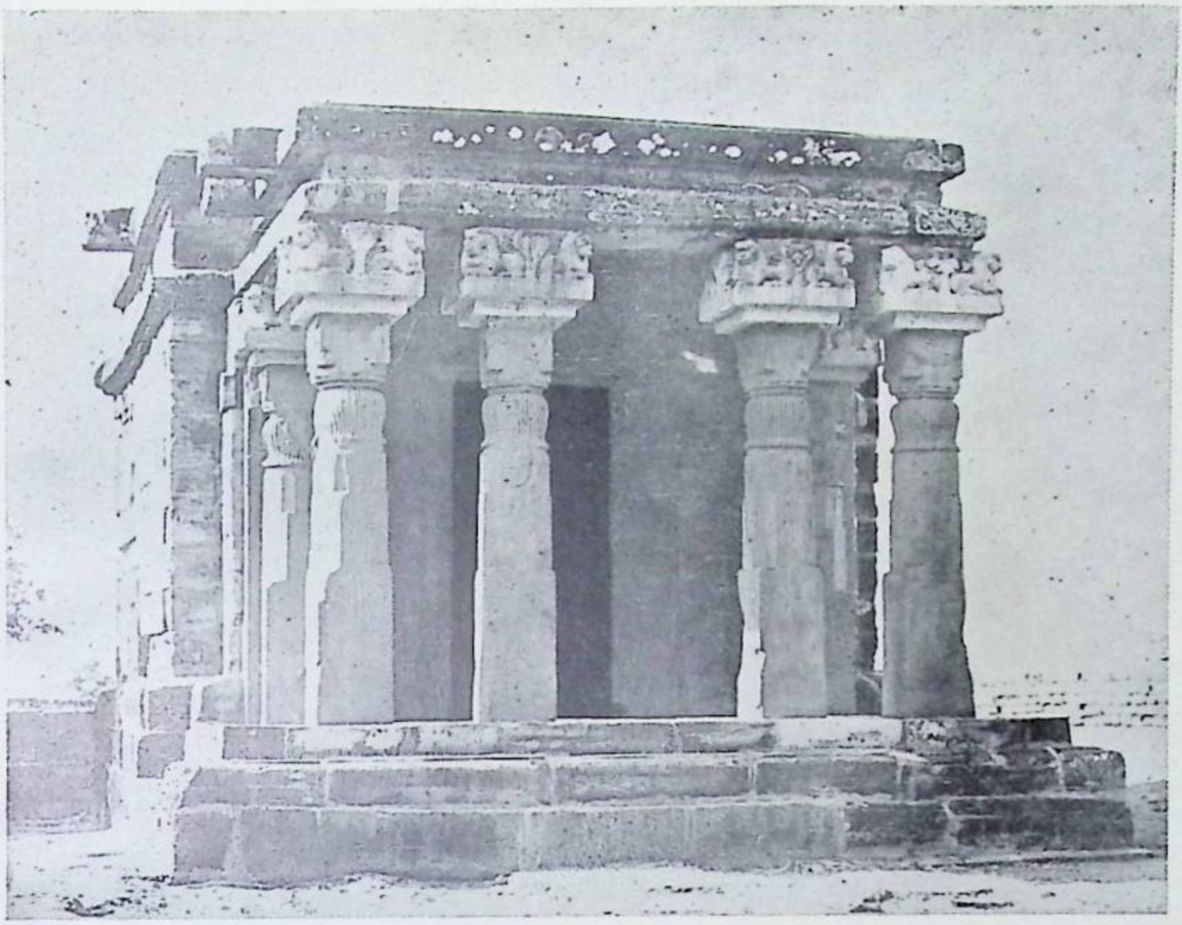
Detail of the Lotus-ceiling. Cave 17. Udaigiri.



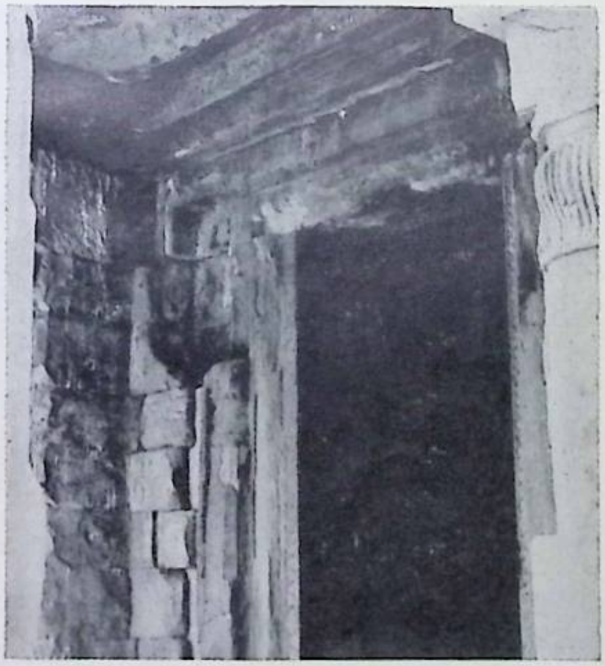
Facade of Cave 6. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D.



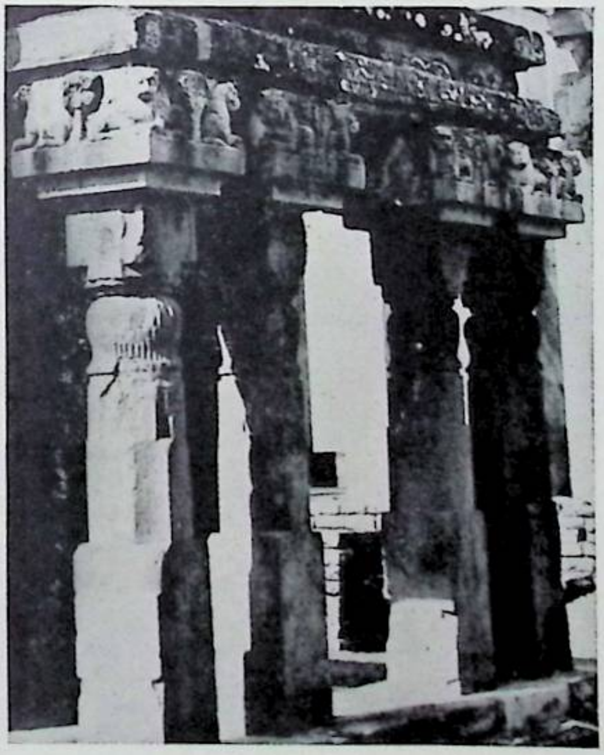
Facade of the Amrita Cave. Udaigiri.



a. Temple 17. Sanchi. Early 5th century.

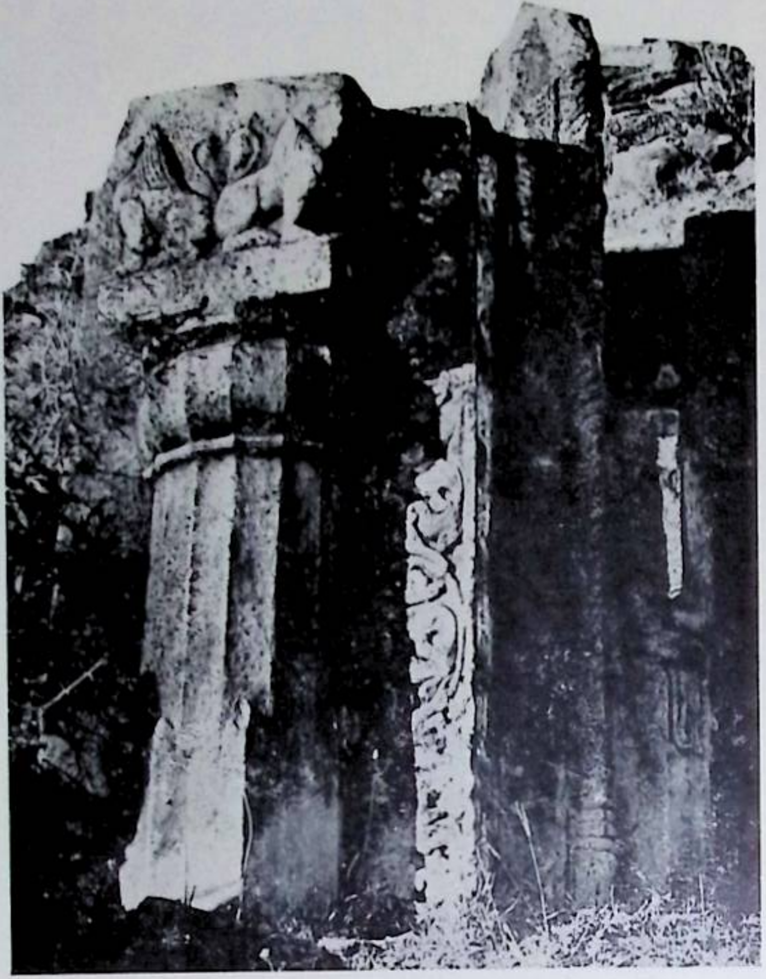


b. Detail of the doorframe. Showing iconostasis of the lost 'river-goddess figures.' Same.



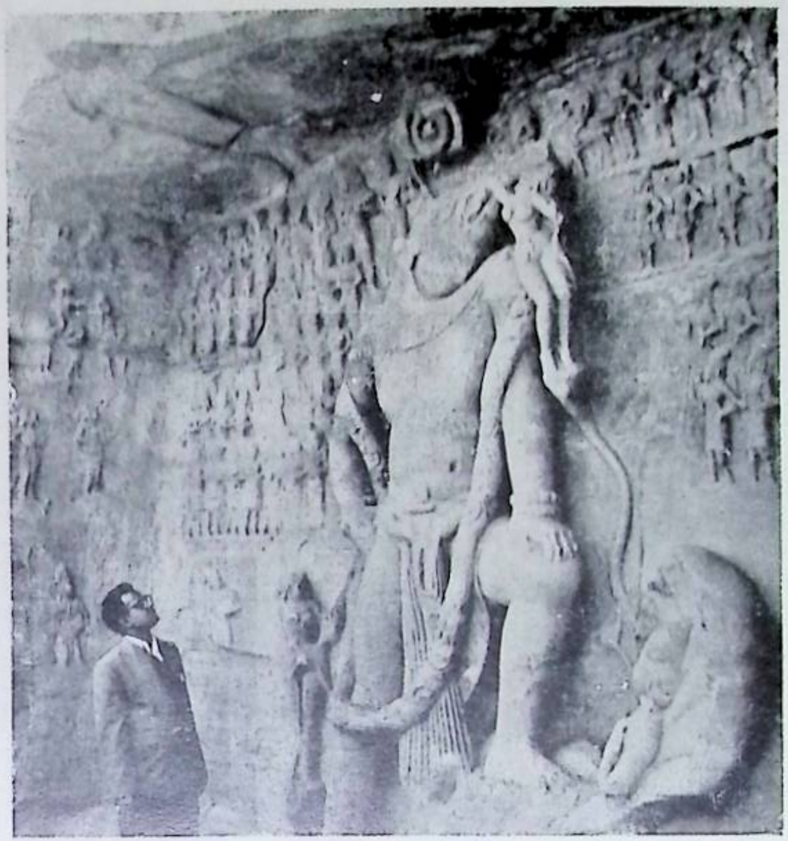
c. Pillars of the portico. Same. View from north.

Plat X



a

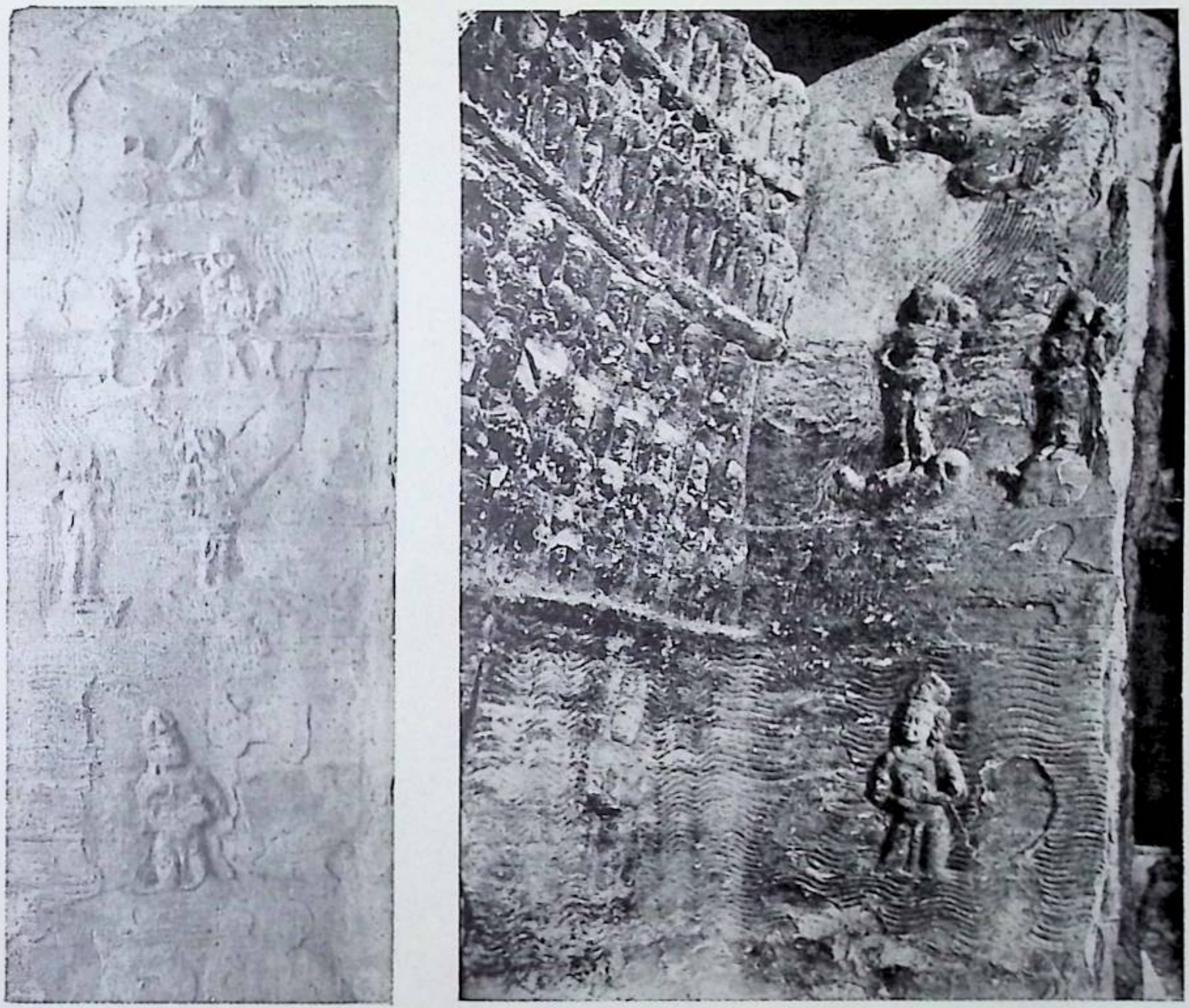
Pillar from the dilapidated early Gupta temple on the Udaigiri hill-top.



b

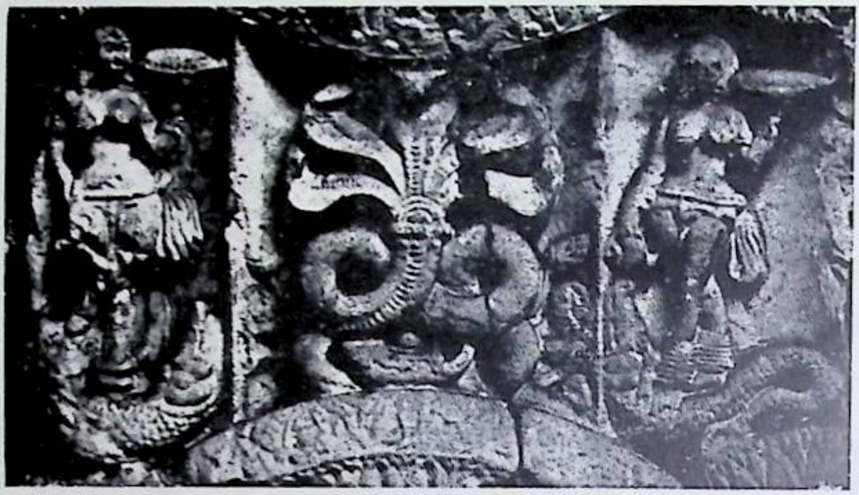
Mahavaraha Cave. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D.
Showing open cave shelter.

Plate XI

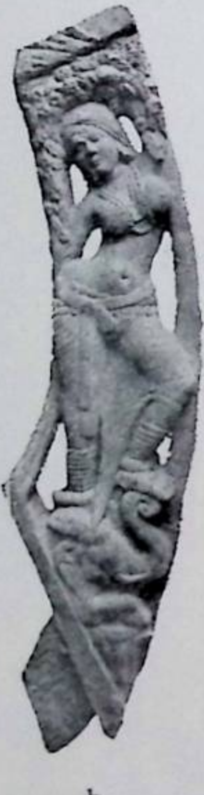


a b

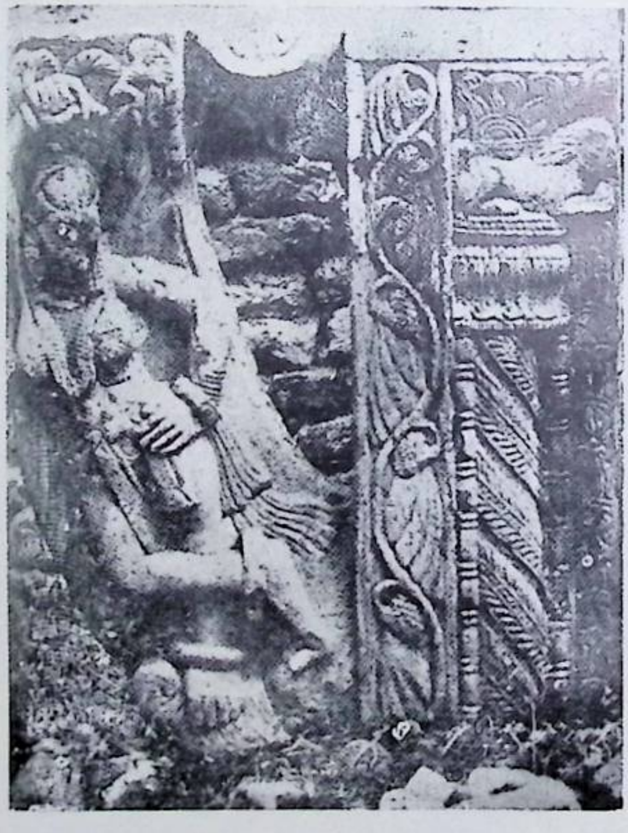
Detail of the side panels flanking Mahavaraha. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D.



a
Naga shrine flanked by *makaravahana* females.
Amaravati Railing. 1 cent. A. D.

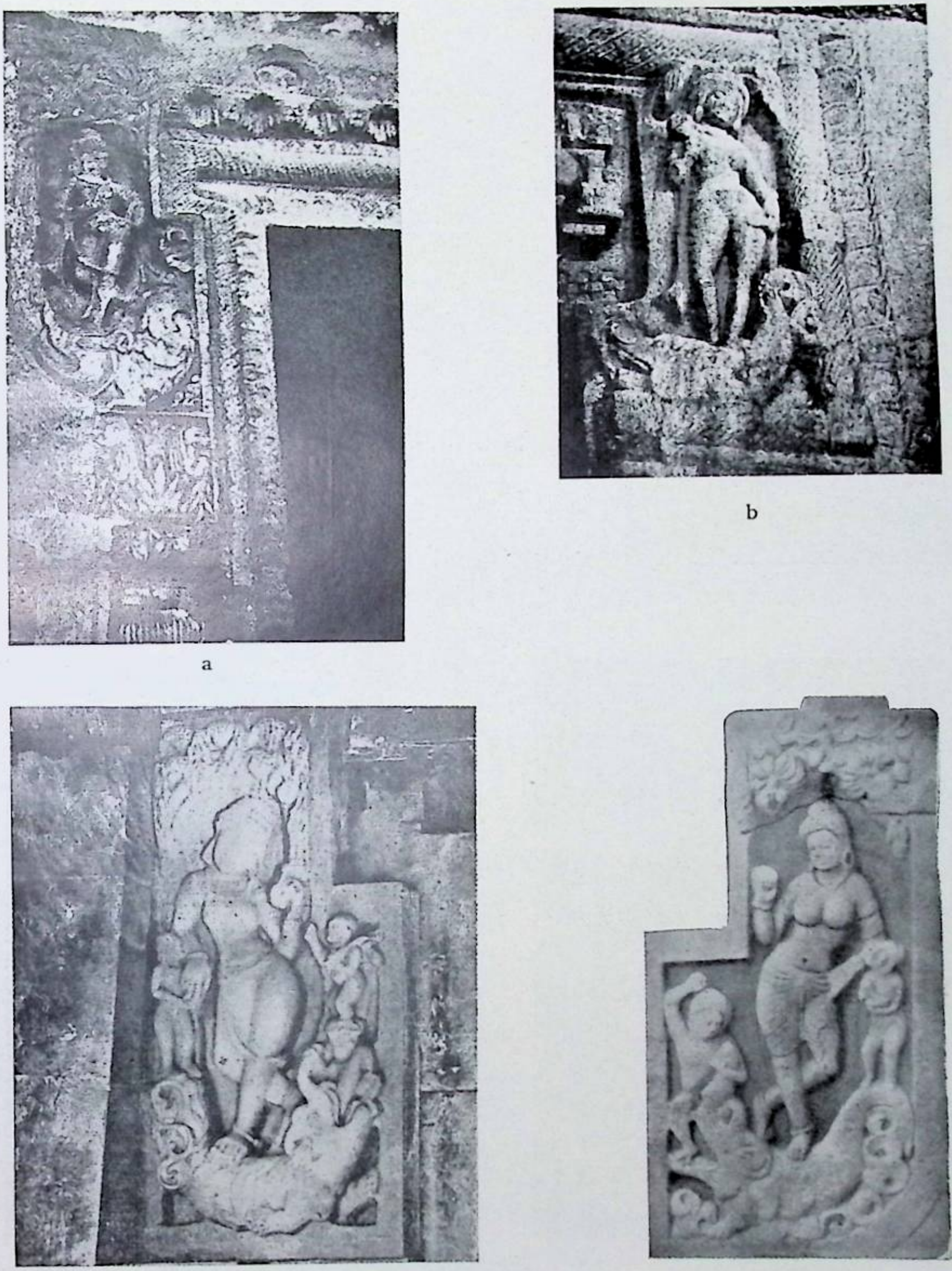


b
Torana bracket figure.
Mathura. 1 cent. B. C.



c
Makaravahana figure as bracket to
the temple door. Jankhat 500 A. D.

Plate XIII



a

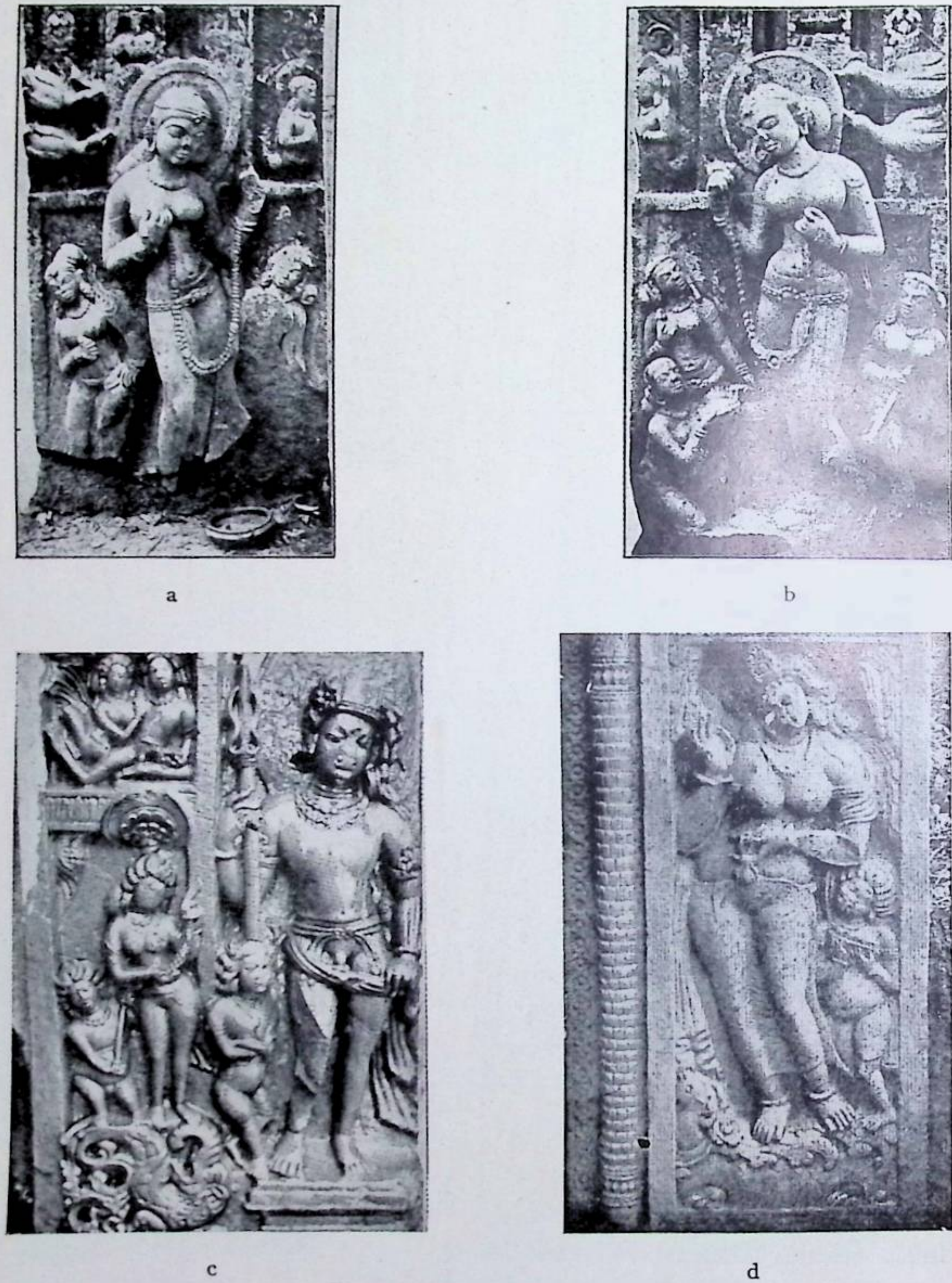
b

c

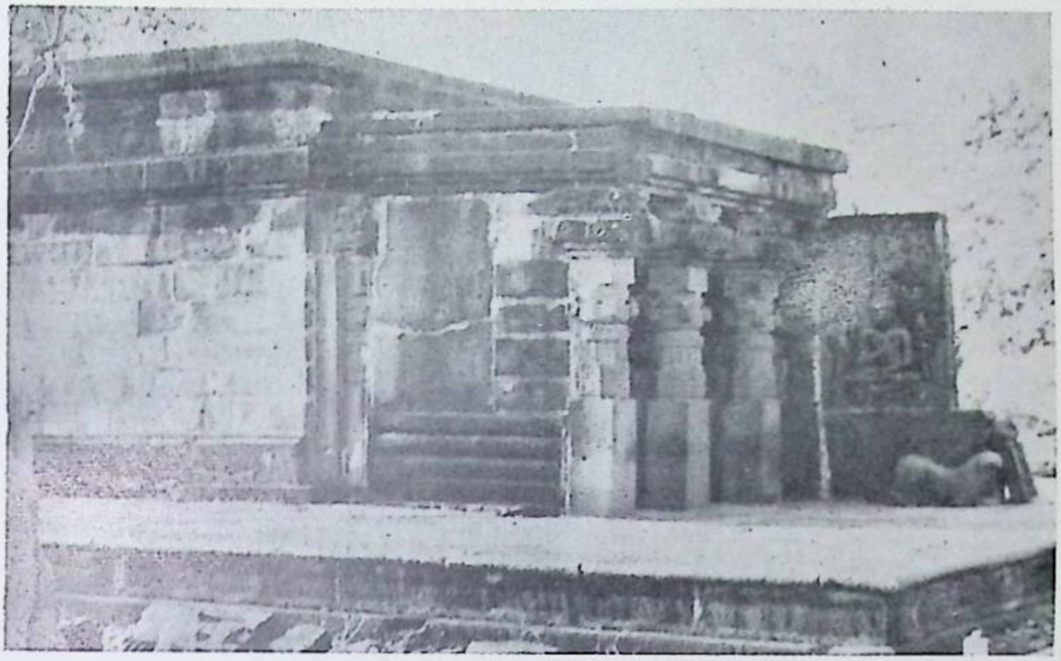
d

Detail of the entrances, side of the lintel.
a. Cave 3, Udaigiri. b. Cave 24 (Photo : O. Viennot. c. Gupta temple, Tigowa.
d. Fragment from Besnagar.

Plate XIV

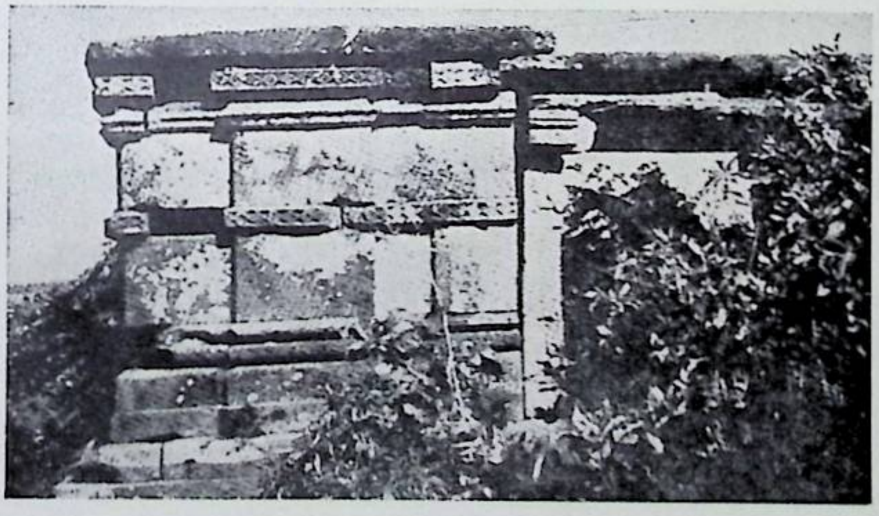


a. and b. Ganga and Yamuna figures. Doorframe. Dah Parbatia. Assam. c. Lower doorjamb. Parvati temple. Nachna Kuthara. d. Yamuna. Mandasor.



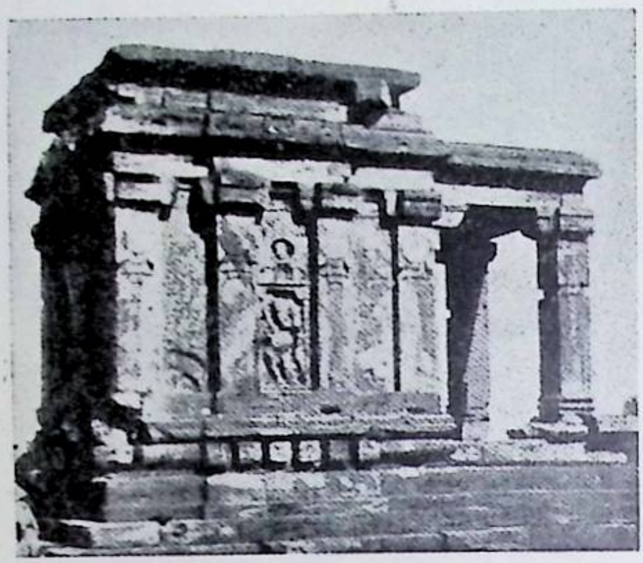
a

Vishnu Temple Tigowa (Tingwa). View from south-west. Early 5 cent. A. D.

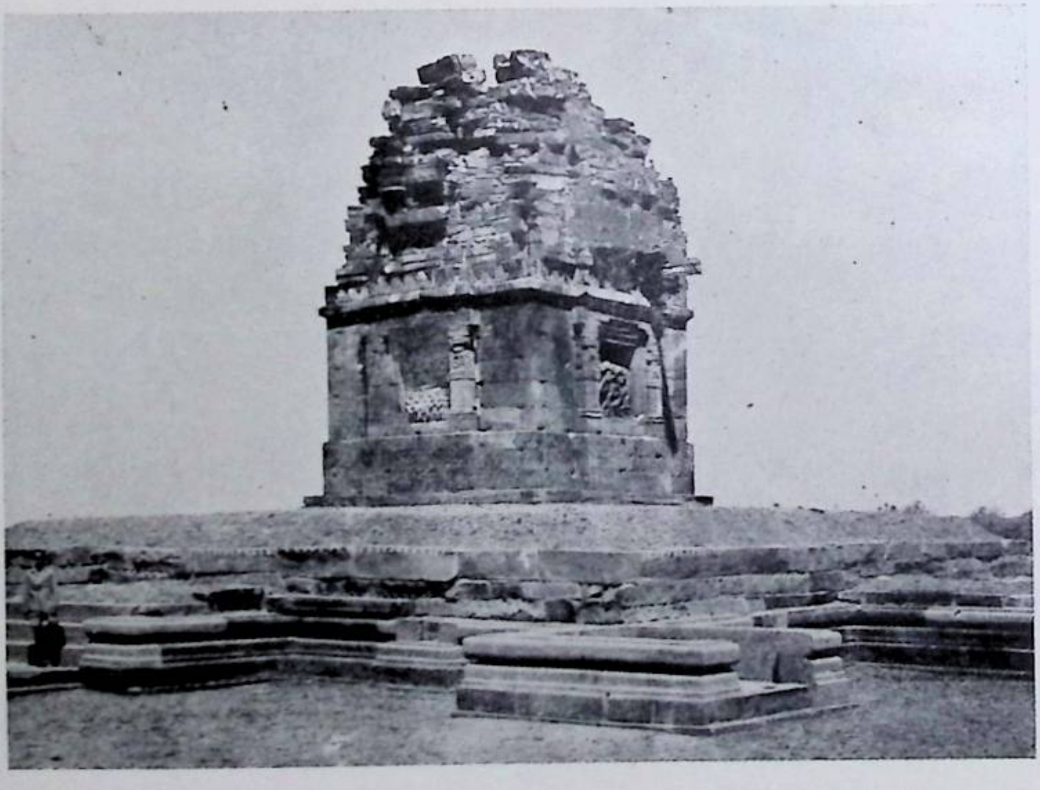


b

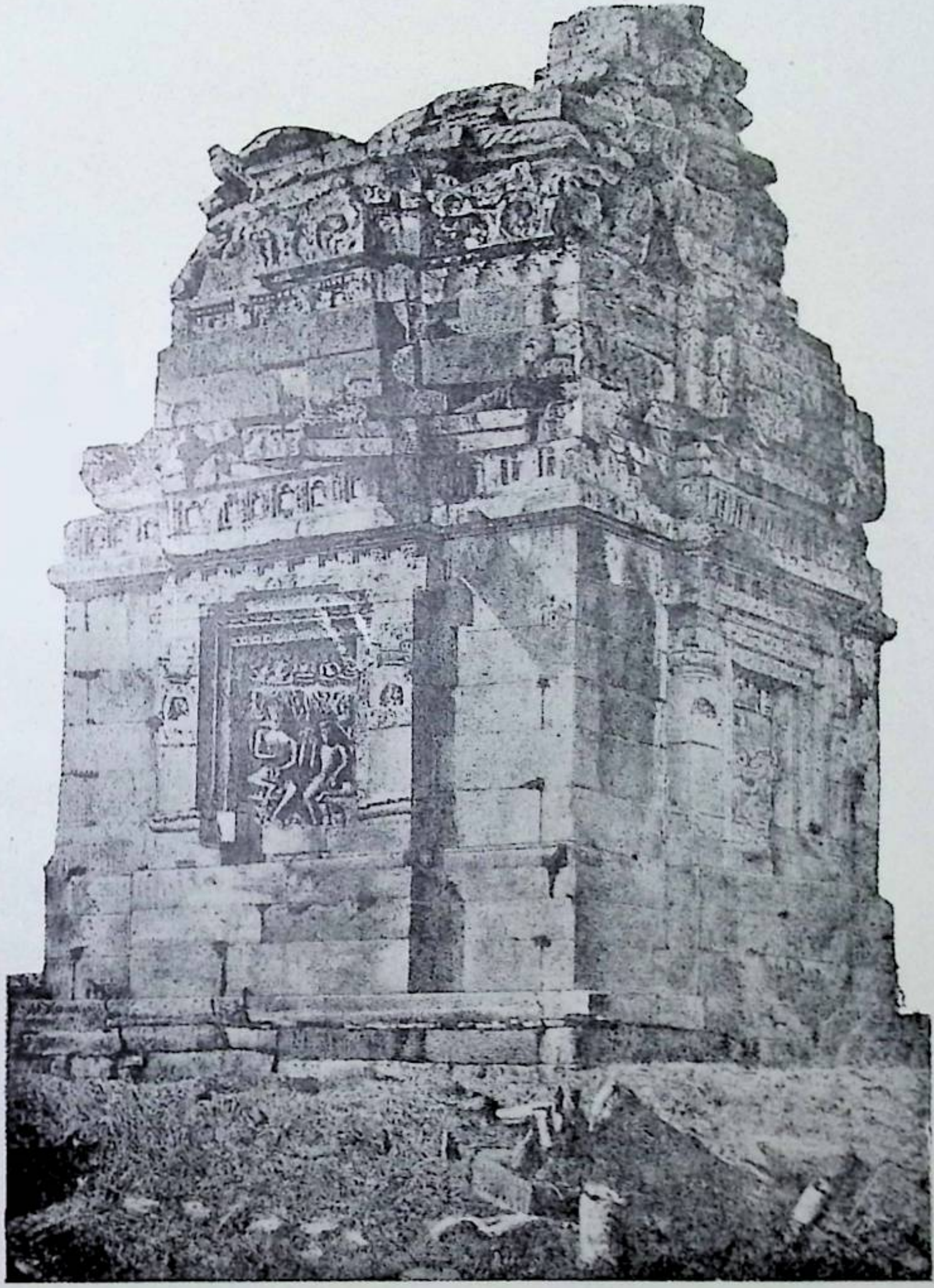
Temple of Gupta type at Udaypur. About 700 A. D. (?)



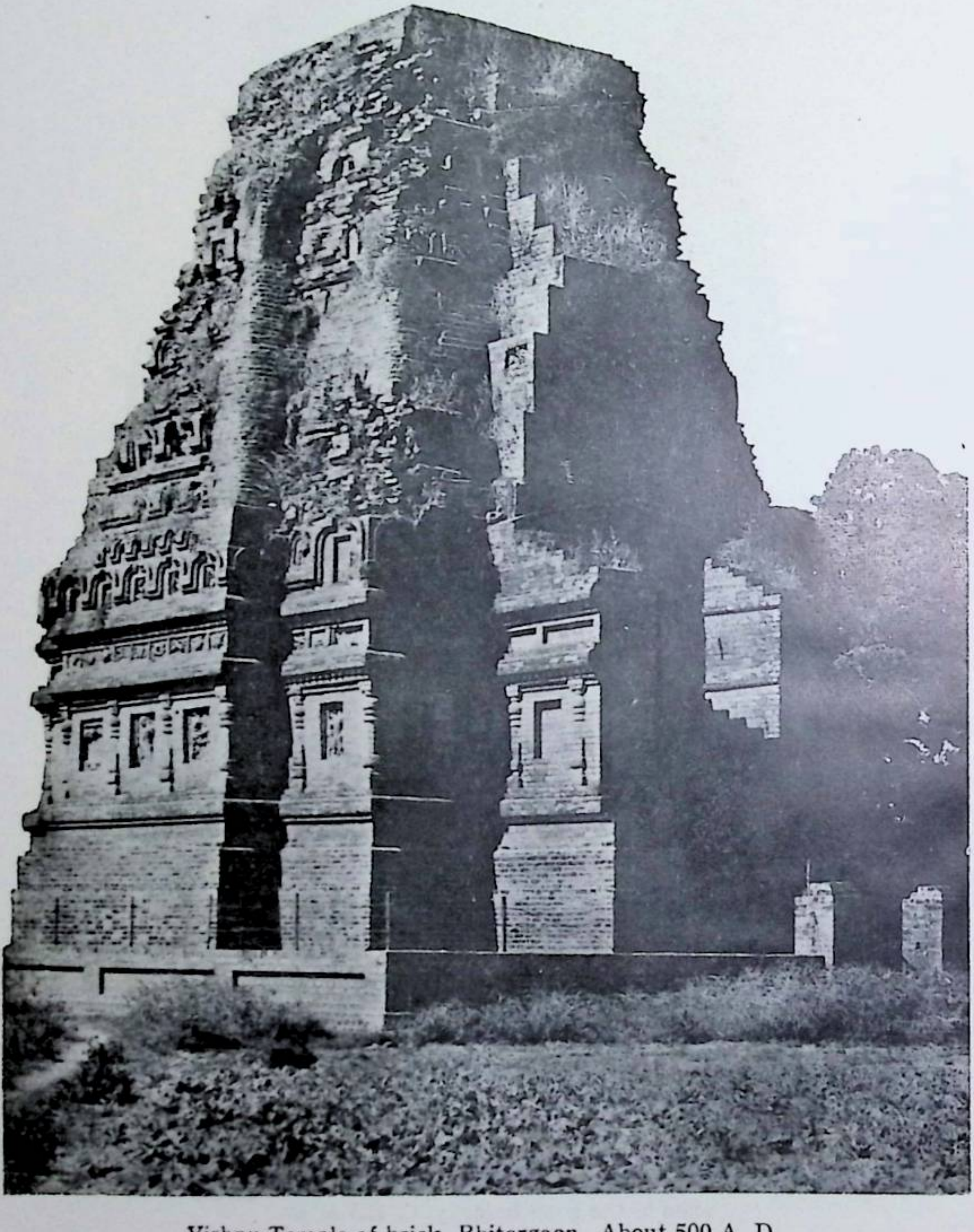
a. Temple at Mahua. Showing Gupta type with heavy roofing.



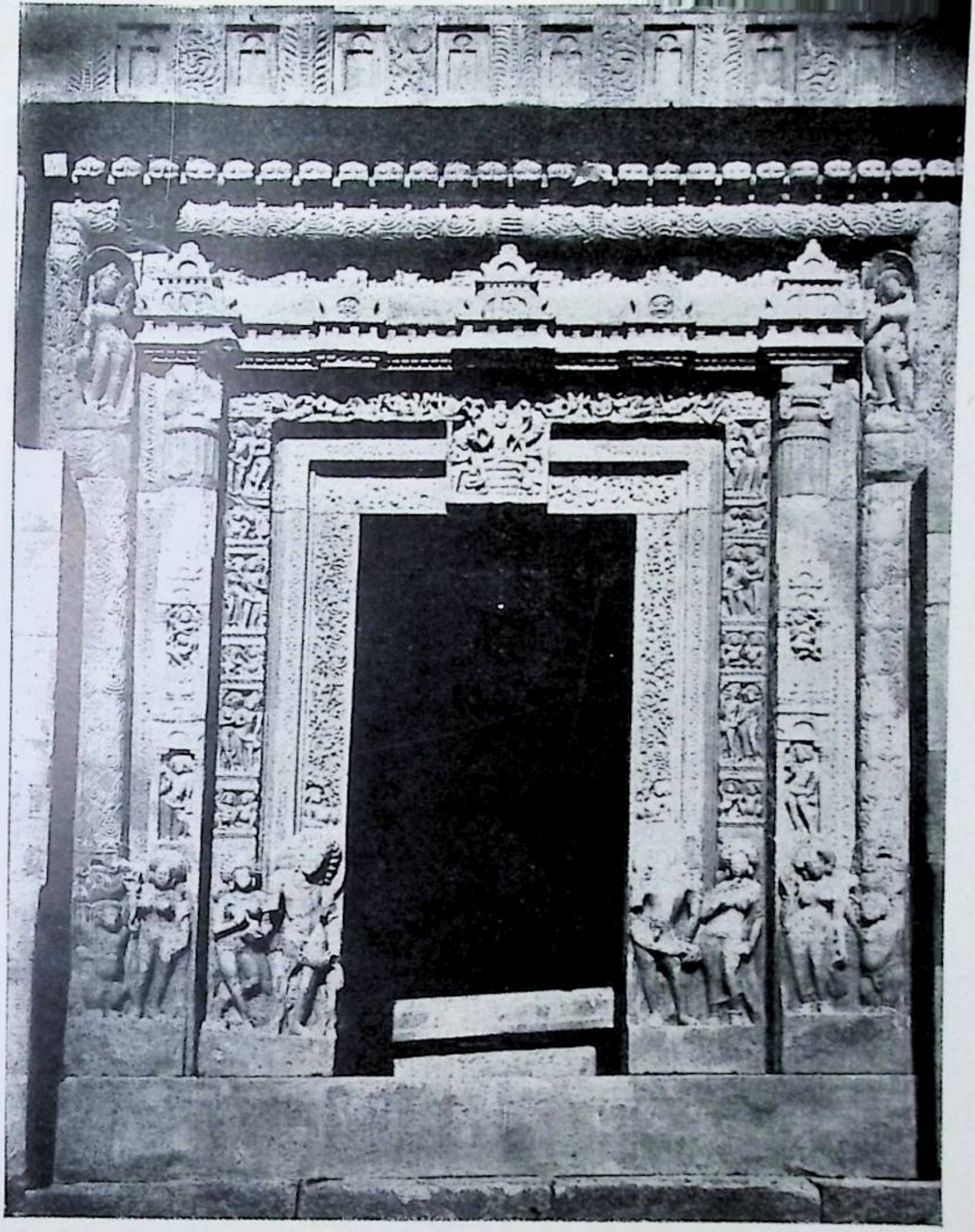
b. Vishnu Temple at Devagarh (Deogarh). Early 5 cent. A. D.



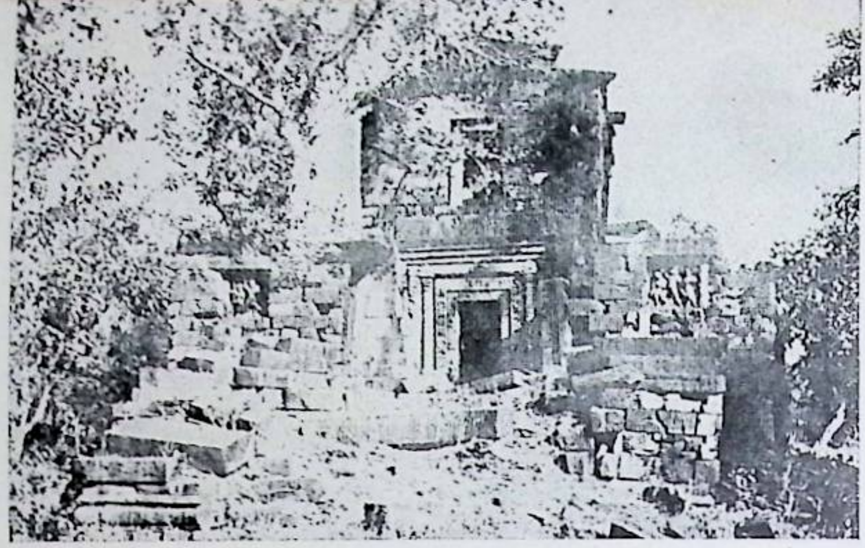
Vishnu Temple at Deogarh. View from east showing cantilever beam of the gone balcony. C. 425 A. D.



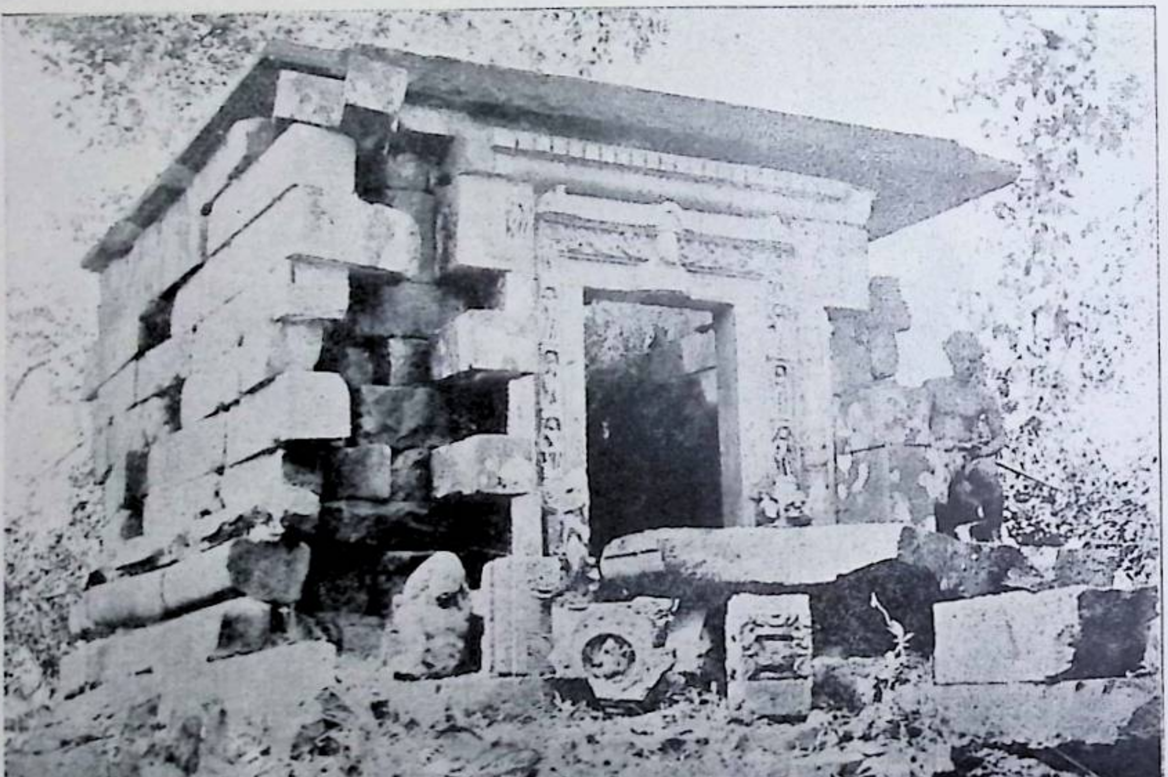
Vishnu Temple of brick. Bhitargaon. About 500 A. D.



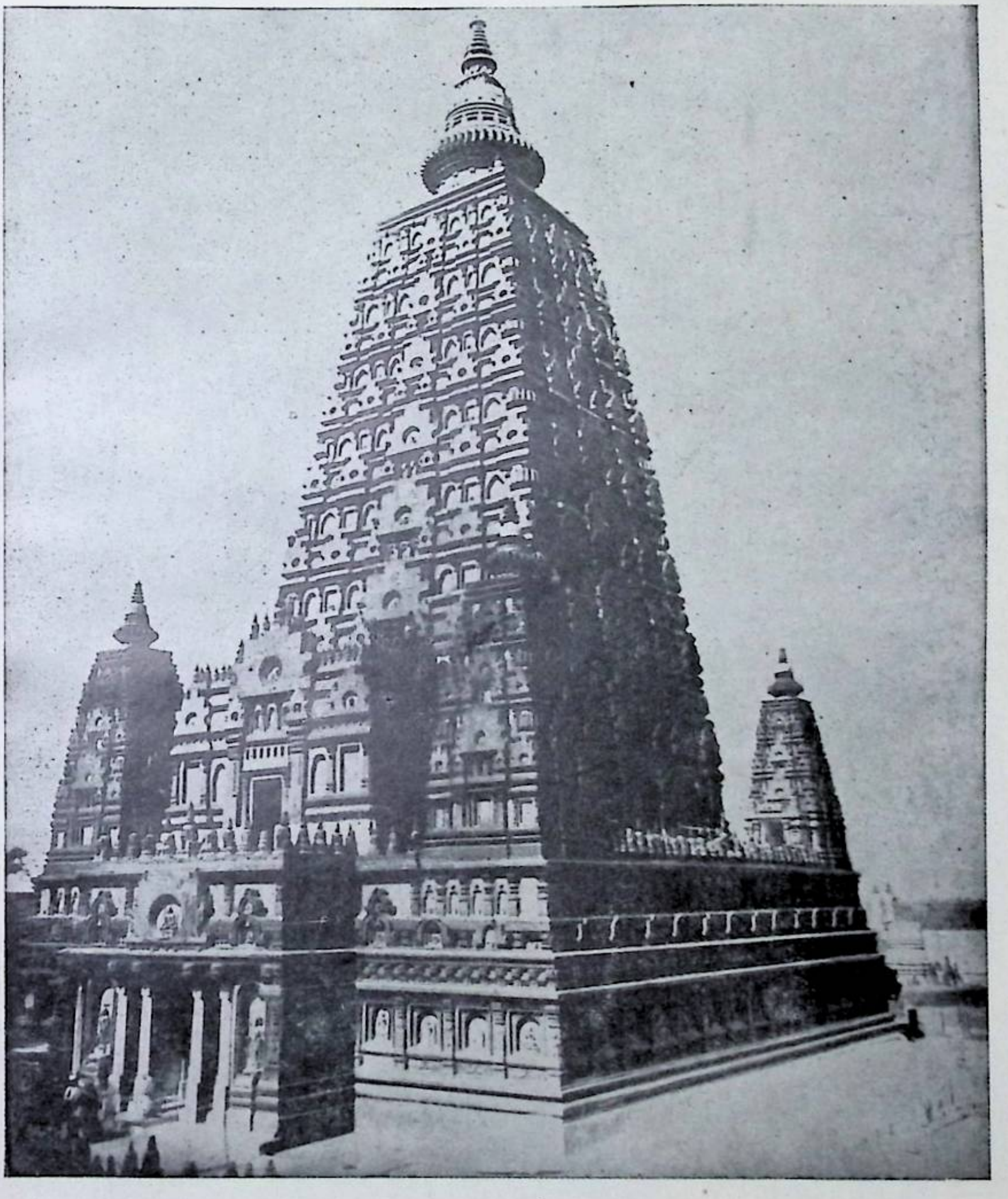
Sanctum doorway. Gupta temple. Devagarh.



a. Front view. Parvati temple. Nachna Kuthara.

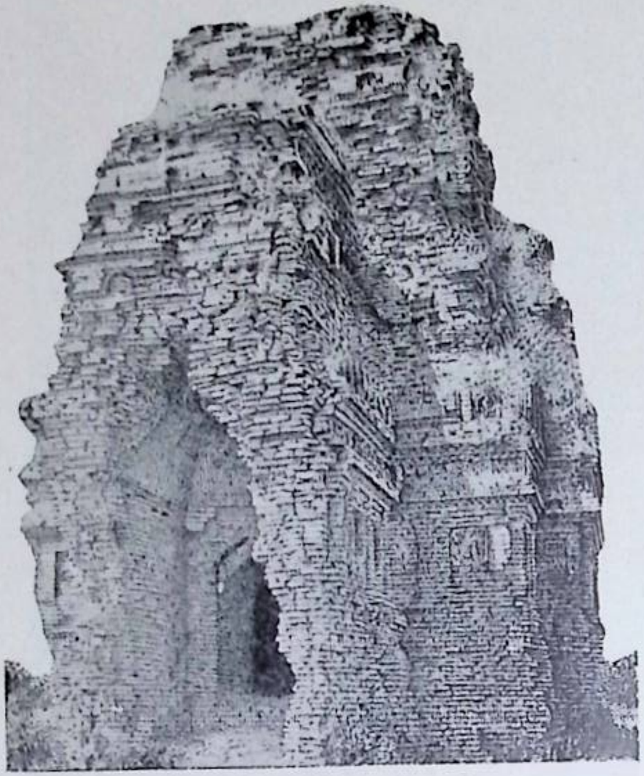


b. Siva temple. Bhumara. 5-6th cent. A. D.

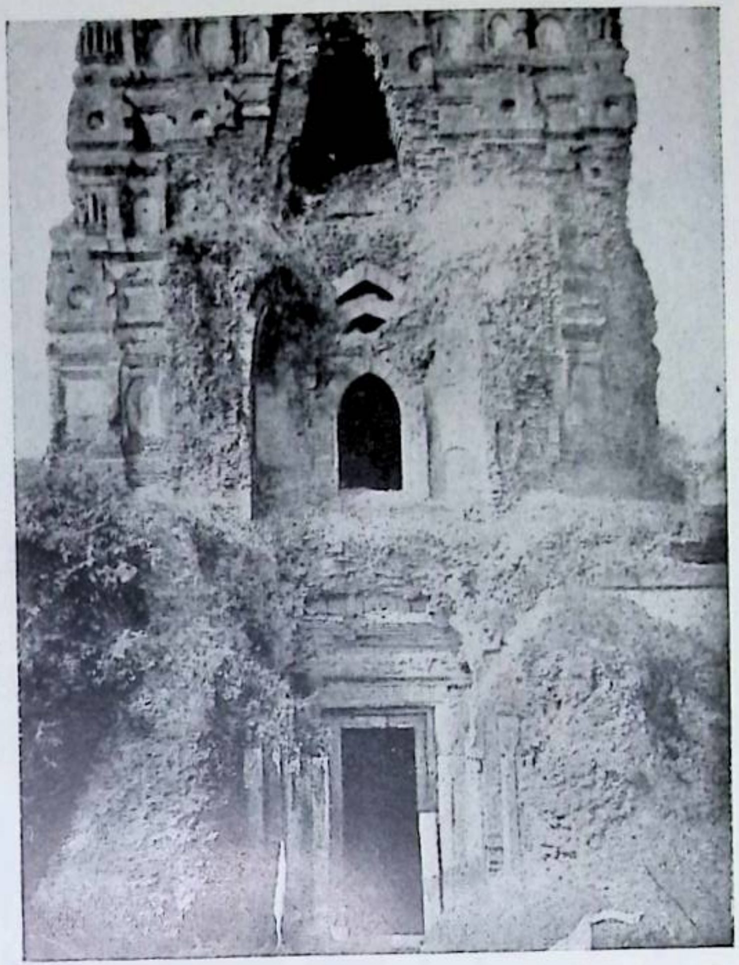


Great Shrine at Bodhgaya. After restoration.

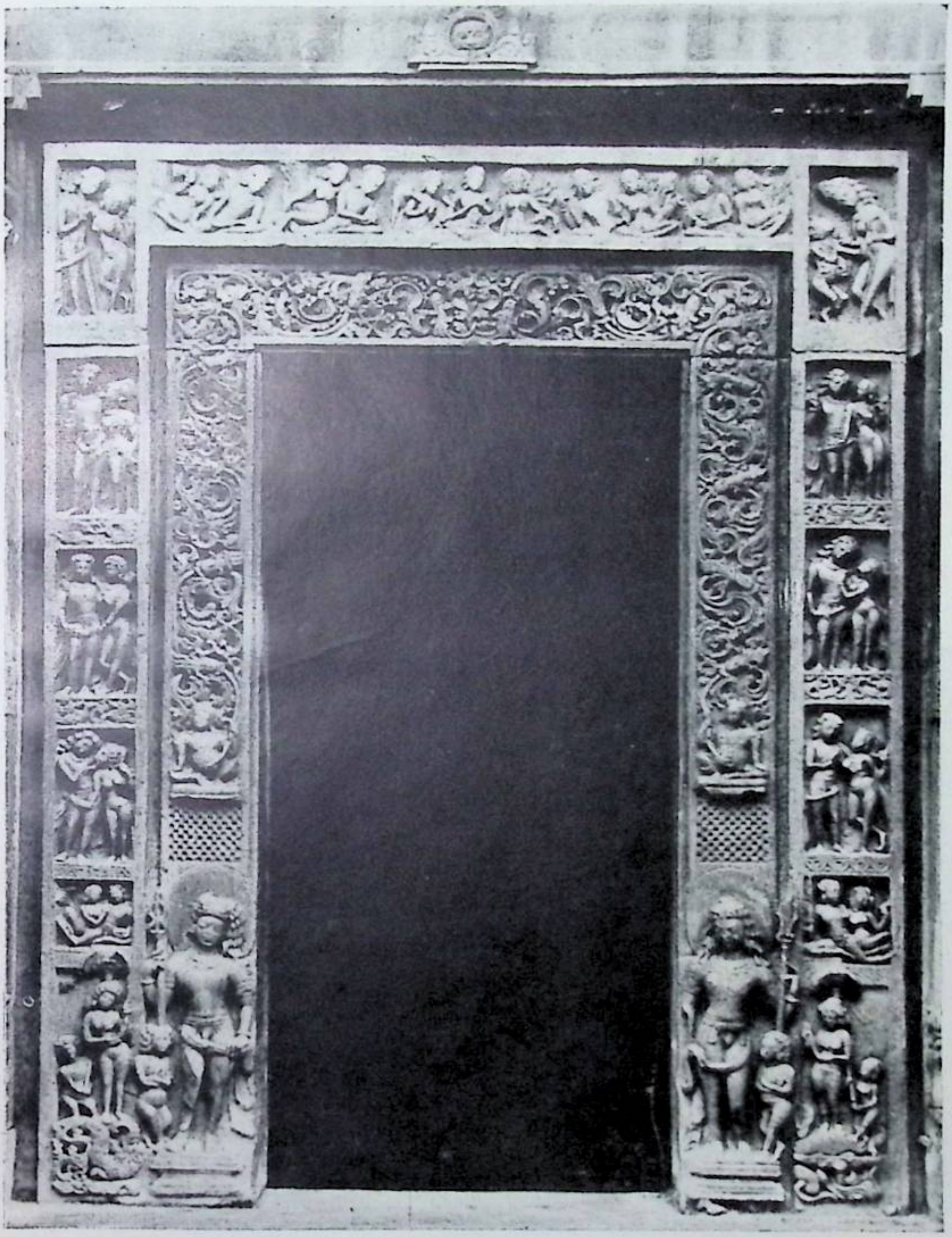
Plate XXII



a. Gupta temple. Bhitargaon.
Front view (From Cunningham).

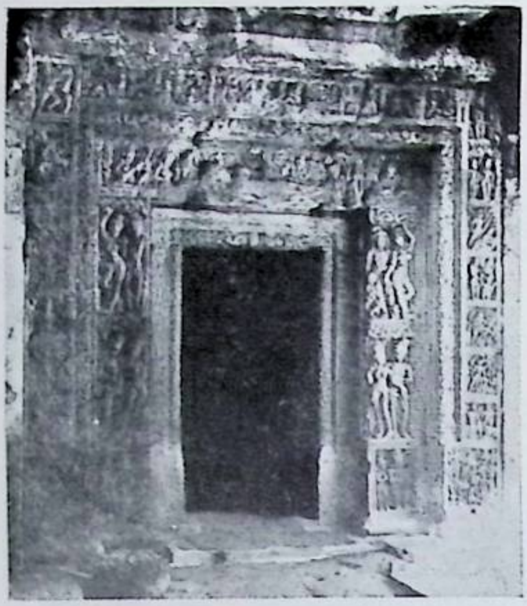


b. Arches. Front of the Bodhgaya temple.
See p. 53.

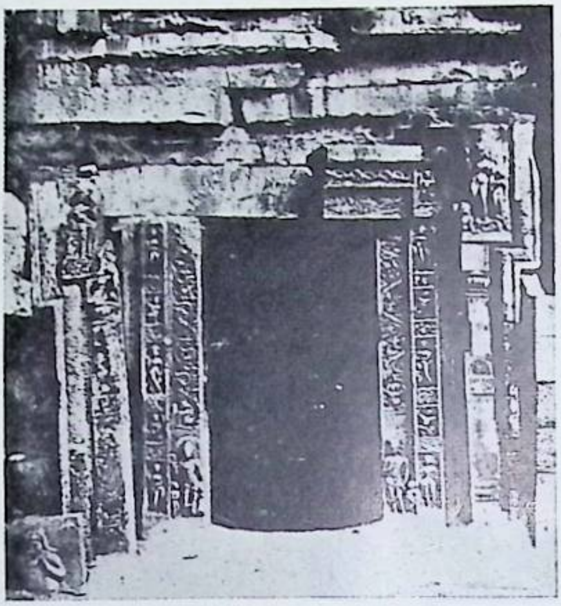


Detail of the doorfame. Parvati Temple. Nachna Kuthara.

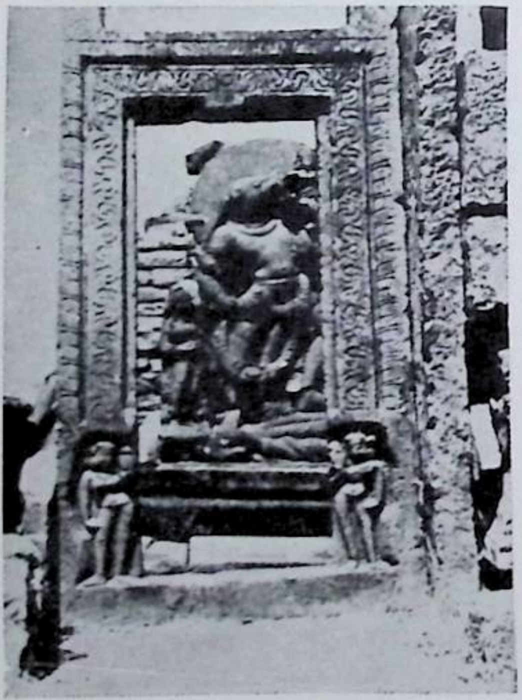
Plate XXIV



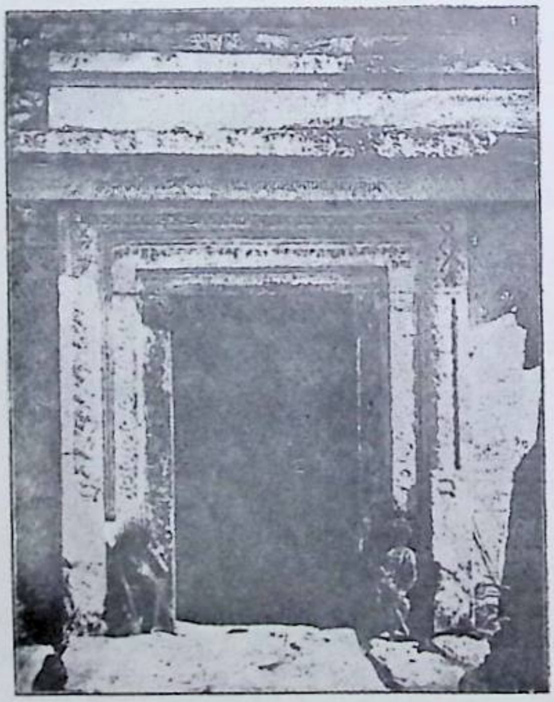
a
Doorframe. Mahadeva Temple.
Nachna Kuthara



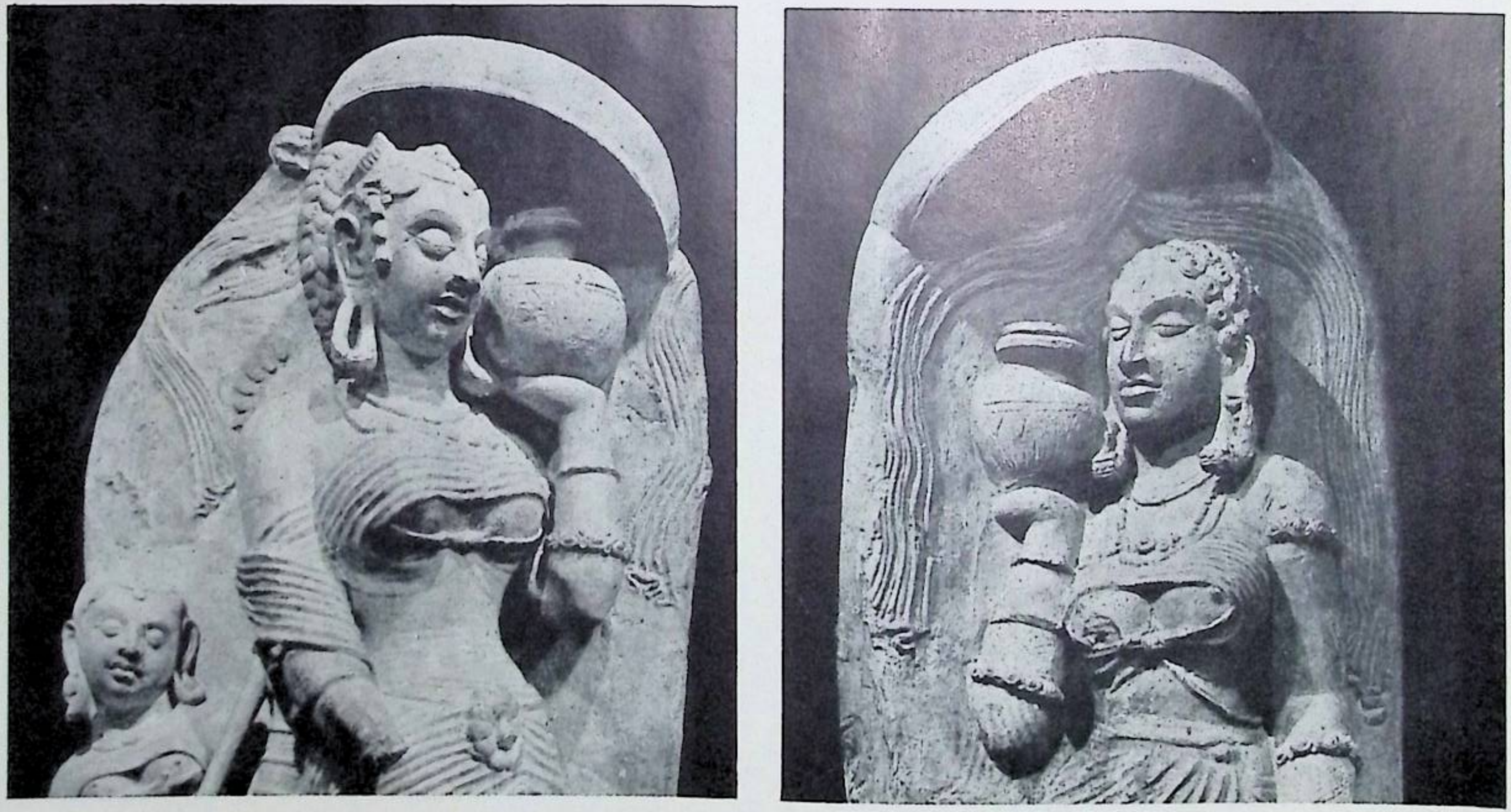
b
Doorframe. Lakshmana
Temple. Sirpur.



c
View of the doorframe. Varaha
Temple. Deogarh.



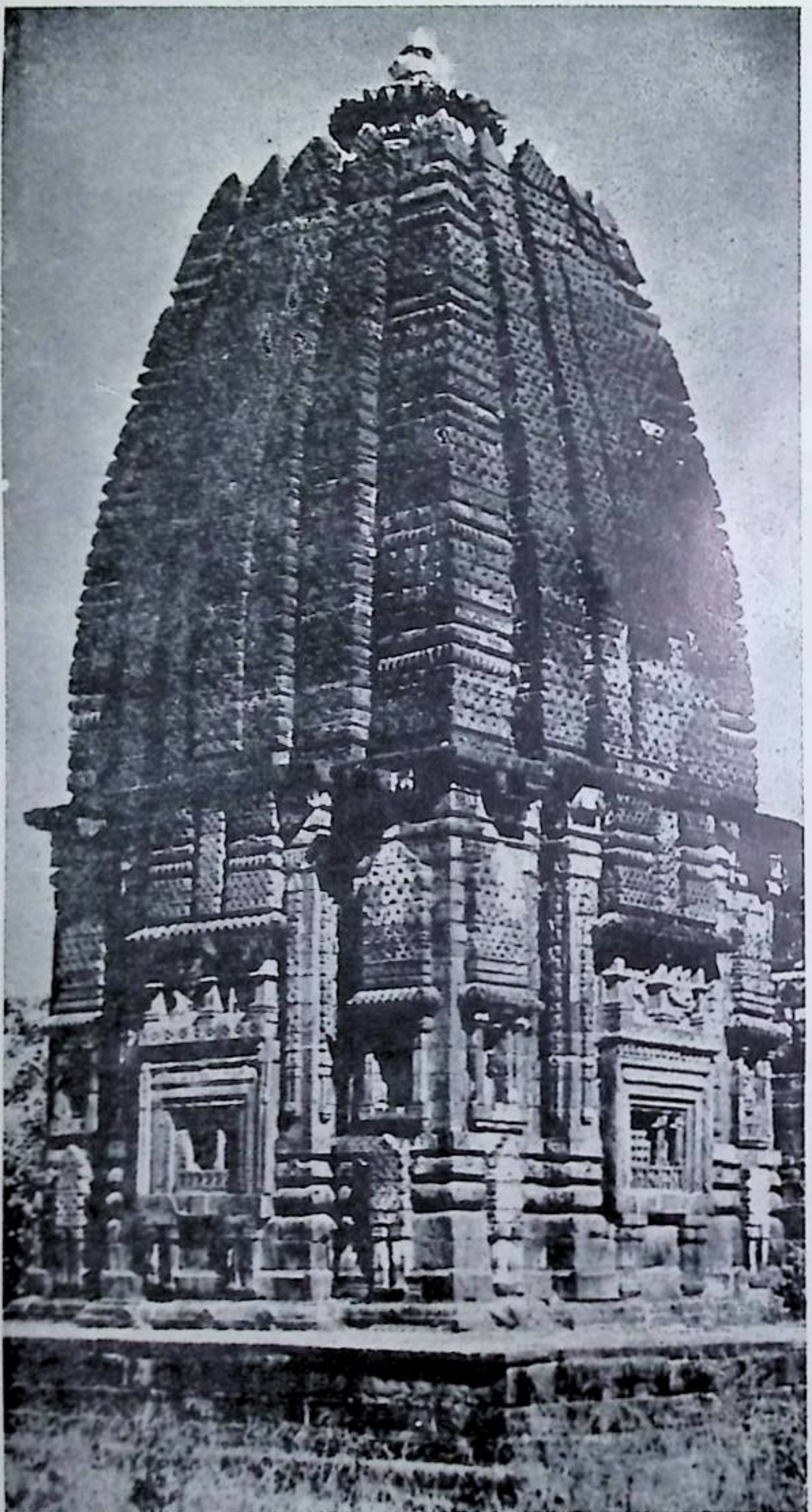
d
Doorframe. Siva Temple.
Sankargadh.



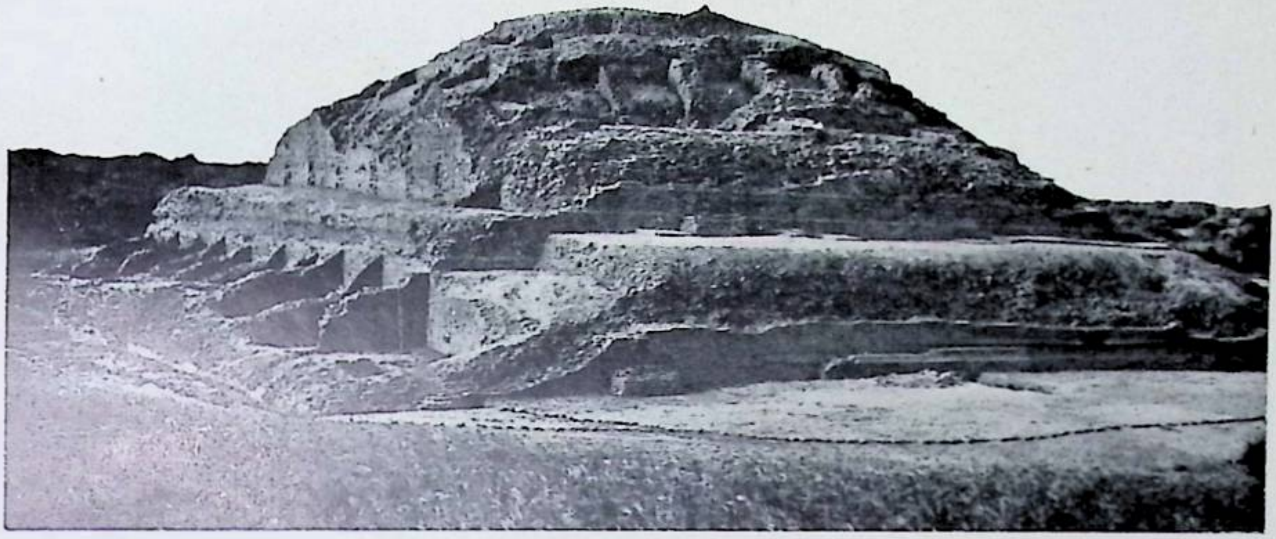
a

b

Life-size terracotta goddesses, Ganga and Yamuna.
From Ahichchhatra Siva Temple.



Mahadeva Temple, Nachna Kuthara. C. 700 A. D.



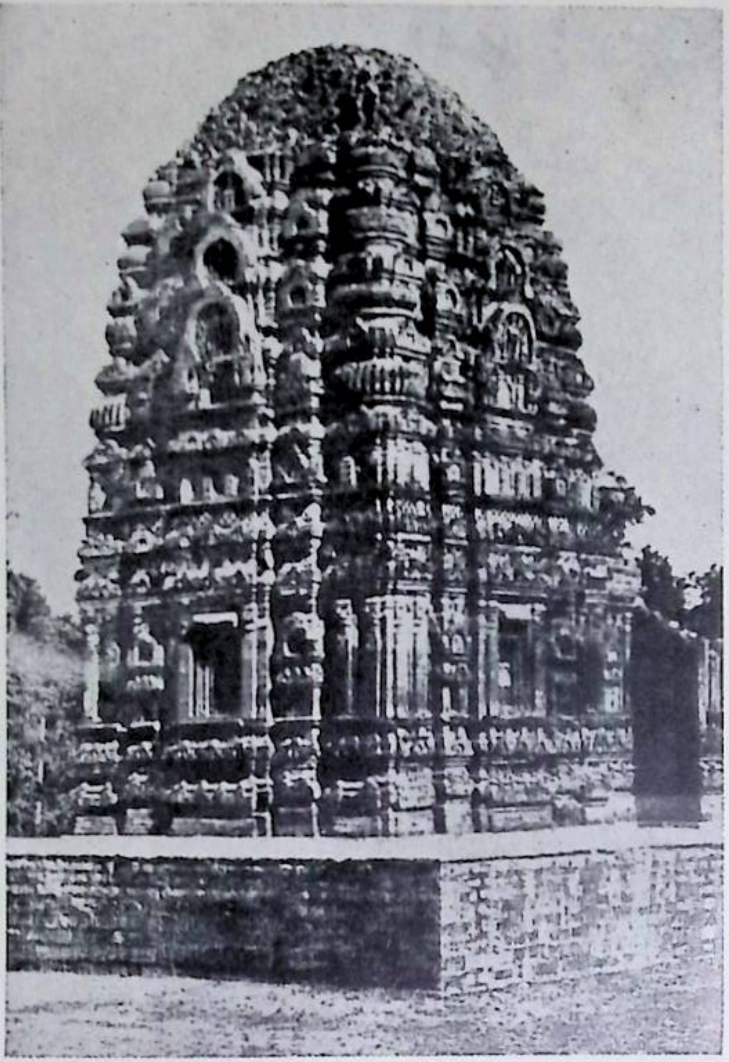
a

Terraced Siva Temple of brick, Ahichhatra. C. 4-5 cent. A. D.

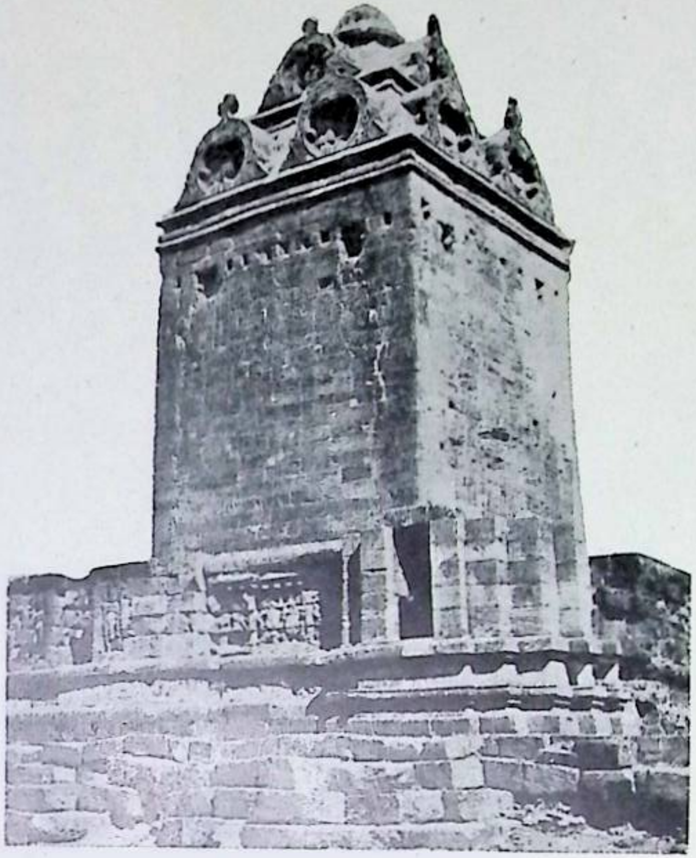
b

Terraced Vishnu Temple of brick, Pawaya. C. 4-5 cent. A. D.

Plate XXVIII

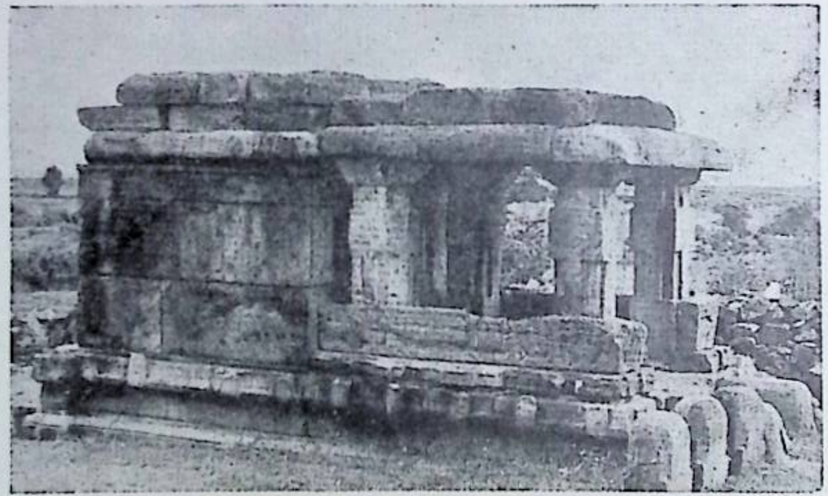


Lakshmana Temple at Sirpur.
C. 7 cent A. D.

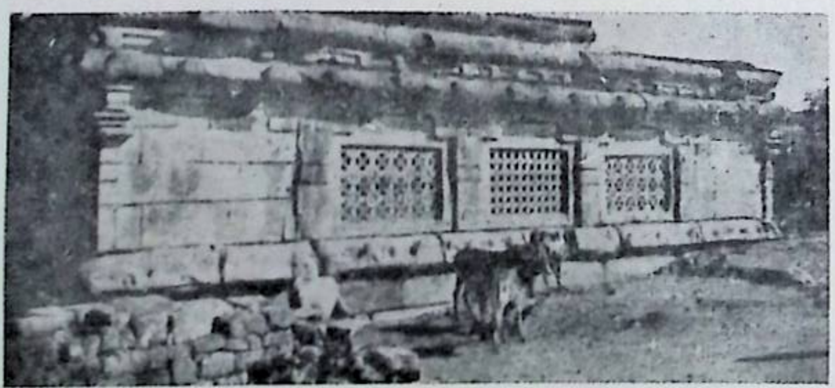


Gupta Temple at Gop. Early 6 cent.

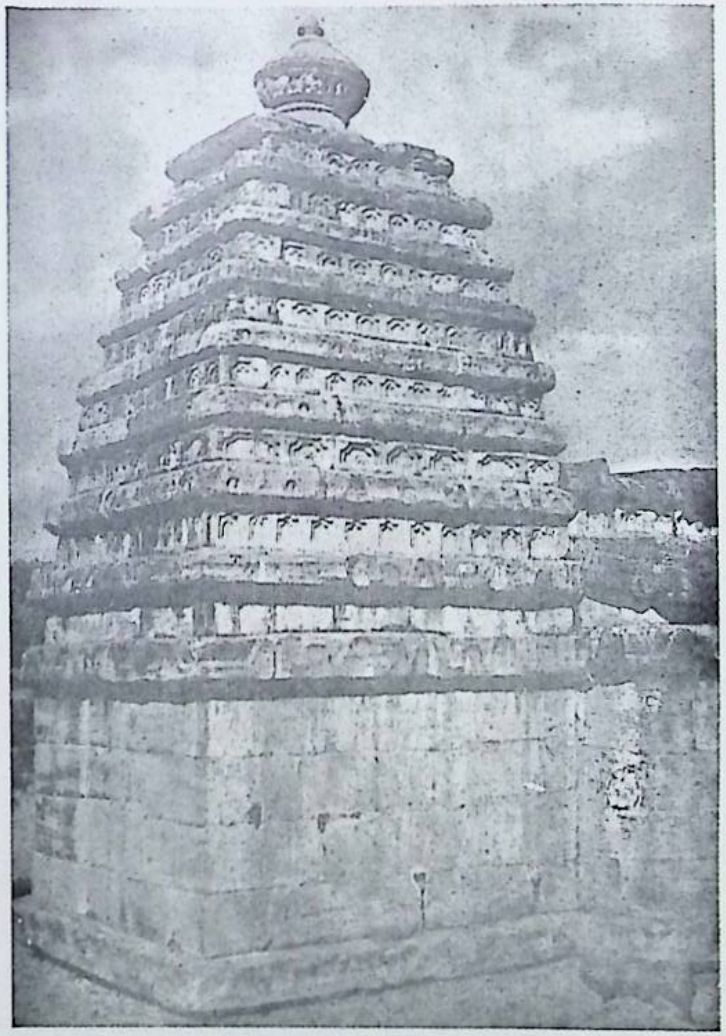
Plate XXIX



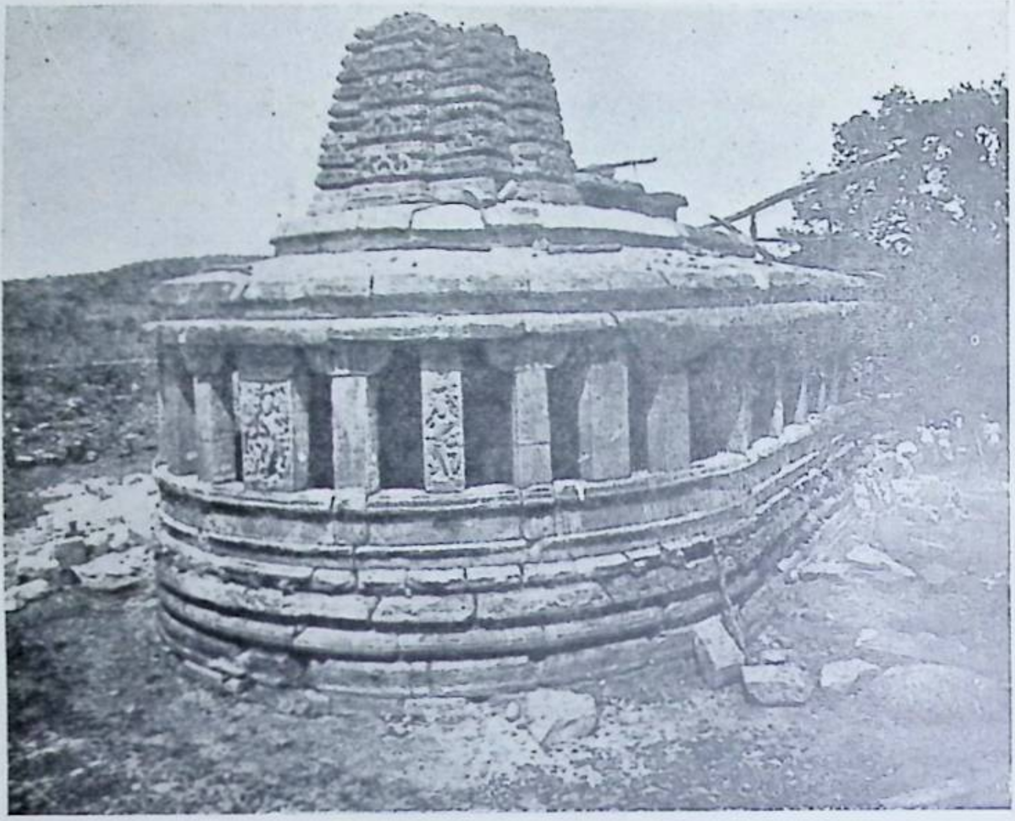
a. Early flat-roofed shrine with pillared porch
C. 400 A. D. Aihole.



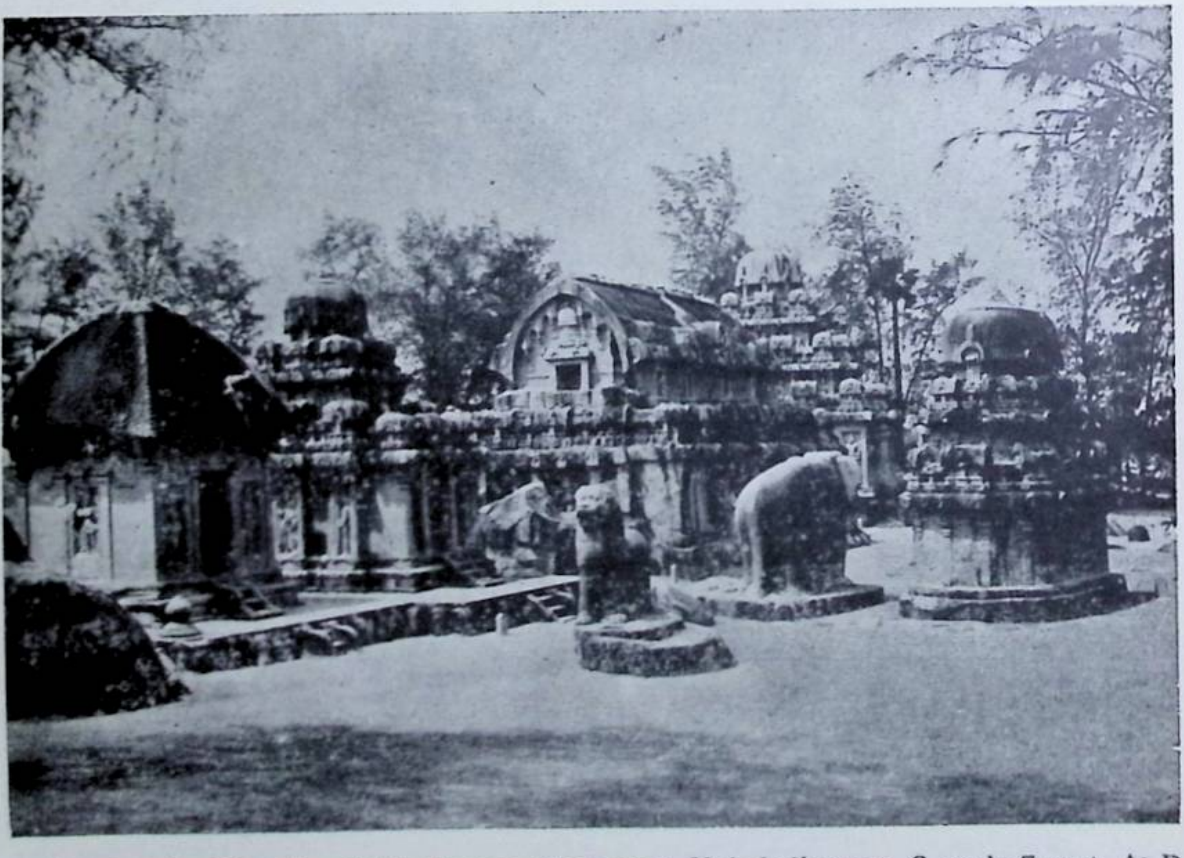
b
Lad Khan Temple. C. 450 A. D. Aihole.



c
Temple No. 10. C. 6th cent. A. D. Aihole.



a. Durga Temple at Aihole. C. 5 cent. A. D.



b. View showing Five Monolithic Rathas. From west. Mahabalipuram. C early 7 cent. A. D.

walls flanking Mahavaraha statue. Udaigiri. C. 400 A. D. See pp. 66-8.

Plate XII

a. Naga shrine flanked by Makaravahana females. Amaravati. 1 cent. A. D. See p. 68. Photo : ASI.

b. Torana bracket figure. Mathura. 1 cent. B. C. Photo : ASI.

c. Makaravahana figure. Jankhat. C. 500 A. D. See p. 39. Photo : ASI.

Plate XIII

a. Detail of the entrace. Upper left side showing Makaravahana female. Cave 3. Udaigiri. Photo : ASI. See pp. 26-7.

b. Makaravahana figure. Cave 24,Ajanta(Photo:O.Viennot;

c. Makaravahana figure on Tigowa entrance. Photo : ASI.

d. From Besnagar. After Coomaraswamy, *HIIA.*, fig. 177. Now in the Boston Museum.

Plate XIV

a. and b. Ganga and Yamuna females from the stone doorframe of the ruined Gupta brick temple at Dah Parbatia. Detail of lower door-jamb. Photo : ASI.

c. Detail of lower door-jamb. Parvati temple. Nachna Kuthara. Photo : ASI. See pp. 42-3.

d. Yamuna on lower portion of a pillar. From Mandasor. Photo : ASI.

Plate XV

a. Vishnu Temple at Tigowa. View from south-west. See pp. 29-30.

b. Temple of Gupta type at Udaypur. After Goetz, see our Note 65. Its early date is rather suspected. See pp. 28-9.

Plate XVI

a. Temple at Mahua. Showing Gupta type of shrine with heavy roofing. After Goetz's article in *East and West*, X, pt. 3, fig. 1, 3. As regards date it should possibly be referred to late Gupta period. See p. 33.

b. Vishnu Temple Deogarh. Photo : ASI. See pp. 34-9.

Plate XVII

Same. After Cunningham, *ASR.*, Vol. X, pl. XXXV.

Plate XVIII

Vishnu Temple of brick. Bhitargaon. Photo : ASI. See pp. 46-50.

Plate XIX

a. Front view of the Parvati Temple. Nachna Kuthara. Photo : ASI. See pp. 42-3.

b. View of the Siva Temple. Bhumra. Photo : ASI. See pp. 41-2.

Plate XX

Detail of the sanctum doorway. Vishnu temple, Deogarh. Photo : ASI. See pp. 37, 65-6.

Plate XXI

Great Shrine at Bodhgaya. Photo : ASI. See pp. 44, 53.

Plate XXII

a. Front view of the Bhitargaon brick temple. After Cunningham, *ASR.*, Vol. XI.

b. Front of the Bodhgaya temple showing arches. Photo : ASI. See p. 53.

Plate XXII

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b. View showing Five Monolithic Rathas. From west. Mahabalipuram. Photo : ASI. See pp. 62-4.

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13	10	Vishnu shrine	**read**	Vishnu shrine as mentioned above
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